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ABSTRACT

This project consists of two parallel yet interrelated studies, one focusing on the full cohort of approximately 9,000 Level III (Grade 12) high school students in Newfoundland and Labrador at the end of the 1988-89 school year, and a second, which focuses on the full year cohort of 2109 students (grades seven to Level III) who dropped out of school between Easter 1987 and Easter 1988. Nearly all of the participants in this survey had been out of school for 2 to 3 years. An attempt was made to re-establish contact with the 1275 persons sampled in the original survey, resulting in a follow-up survey sample of 1012 interviews. Most of the respondents had financial responsibility for only themselves. For over 14% income support programs provided the principle income. Almost all of the sample reported having worked in at least one full-time or part-time job between July 1988 and December 1989. About 23% reported that they had participated in some form of academic upgrading since their decision to leave school. The early leavers reported having to overcome several barriers in their search for work, including lack of experience or the economic situation. There was an overall feeling of satisfaction among the respondents about their progress since leaving school. The group of early school leavers expected to be more mobile in the future than they had already shown themselves to be in the recent past. (ABL)

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YOUTH TRANSITION INTO THE LABOUR MARKET

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LIFE AFTER SCHOOL:
A PROFILE OF EARLY LEAVERS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

--SUMMARY REPORT--

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December 1991

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YOUTH TRANSITION INTO THE LABOUR MARKET

LIFE AFTER SCHOOL: A PROFILE OF EARLY LEAVERS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

-- SUMMARY REPORT --

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Project sponsored by the
Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Education
and the Canada/Newfoundland Youth Employment Strategies Program
November 1990

PREFACE

The study of Youth Transition into the Labour Market began several years ago, in the spring of 1987. The Newfoundland and Labrador's Department of Career Development and Advanced Studies advertised for proposals to prepare a longitudinal study design of the transition of youth. The authors, then part of the Institute of Educational Research and Development, Faculty of Education, Memorial University, made a submission and were awarded the contract. A report was made that became the basis for YTLM, the Transition of Youth into the Labour Market. The Department and the Institute are no more, each the casualty of restructuring. Now the authors, members of the Centre for Educational Research and Development within the Faculty of Education, work on the project with the Newfoundland Department of Education. Funding is provided by the Canada/Newfoundland Youth Employment Strategies Program and the Department of Education.

The project consists of two parallel yet interrelated studies, one focusing on the full cohort of approximately 9000 Level III (Grade 12) high school students at the end of the 1988-89 school year, and a second, which focuses on the full year cohort of 2109 students (grades seven to Level III) who dropped out of school between Easter 1987 and Easter 1988. So far, the early leavers have been surveyed twice and the Level III group three times. An additional survey on each group is currently underway.

Throughout the past four years we have received the help of a large number of people with the project, as well as the cooperation and assistance of many Newfoundland school personnel, field interviewers, and of course, the early leavers themselves who endured an extensive interview process. In particular, we are indebted to Gwen Brokenshire who organized the project data collection phase upon which this report is based, and Kelly Brocklehurst for the word processing, graphics, and overall production of this summary document which addresses the findings of the first follow-up survey on the early school leavers cohort. The help and guidance of the project advisory committee composed of members from the government departments of Employment and Labour relation and Education is also acknowledged together with the continued support of Claude Clarke and Carla Woodworth-Lynas.

The main report is available, and further information may be obtained, by contacting the authors at: Centre for Educational Research and Development, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, (709) 737-3506/7549

INTRODUCTION

This summary report, the third in a series to be based on the Youth Transition into the Labour Market study, deals with the high school dropout, the *early school leaver*. The report addresses the first two to three years of transition of the young adult in Newfoundland and Labrador who has left public school prior to graduation. It documents the work and educational experience of these people and tries to put this into the context of the personal levels of satisfaction with the accommodations that are being made to life after school.

Early school leaving has been a central educational issue in the province for many years, but never more so since the report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment (1986) which targeted the early school leaver as a critical barrier to be overcome in the province's drive toward economic recovery.

There is some evidence that early school leaving has been reduced in recent years, to perhaps as low as 25% of all persons enroled. There is no reason to be optimistic, however, as the experience of larger and wealthier provinces such as Ontario will attest. From reports of dropout rates of over 30% in these provinces, it may be possible that the decrease that this province has experienced has "bottomed," and that further improvement will come only with a new approach to the question. Its causes must be viewed in terms of factors both internal and external to the school.

The nature of search for educational and work opportunities before and after dropping out is also an important, and presently unanswered, question. The problems confronted by secondary school leavers are enormous. Essentially lacking even the basic skills required to equip them to deal with a modern job market, their options appear limited to the adoption of traditional and contrived patterns of work; patterns that are disappearing through technological change, or because of changing political attitudes.

Newfoundland's economic history is one of failed attempts to establish an industrialized society and, although having some comparative advantage, relatively unsuccessful attempts to stabilize its primary resource sectors of mining, fishing, and forestry. The province has the lowest labour force participation rate in Canada, the highest unemployment rate, and the highest youth unemployment rate.

It is within this context that youth make, or may attempt to make, some form of transition into the labour market. Individual choice establishes the pattern of work transition. A decision to stay in school is considered to be evidence of a more adaptive career pattern than a decision to leave school early because it is assumed that people with more education and training will be more adaptive to a wider range of employment opportunities. But, achieving societal standards of work transition must be understood from the perspective of individual goal satisfaction and its effects on choice.

Nearly all of the participants in the survey had been out of school from two to three years, years which had been fairly prosperous by Newfoundland standards. However, the economy of the country was poised for a downturn after an extended period of growth and relative prosperity. In Newfoundland attention was focused on the coming year, a fisheries crisis foretold by lowered quotas, and threats of an impending downsizing of the overall fishing effort. The inshore sector was particularly at risk. Also, the Hibernia project had not yet had an impact on the outlook in the province.

An analysis of the educational experience and work involvement of these early leavers during the first few years after dropping out of school, and the development in their lives during this time, is crucial if appropriate programming interventions are to be undertaken.

SURVEY RESULTS

The first follow-up survey of the original group of 2109 early school leavers that were identified during school year 1987-88 was conducted in January, 1990. An attempt was made to re-establish contact with the 1275 persons sampled in the original survey, resulting in a follow-up survey sample of 1012 useable interviews. The follow-up, conducted just over two years after the first set of interviews, found that over 36% of the original sample had moved from their hometown. The distribution of gender remained the same in the follow-up survey as it was in the original sample; however, it proved to be easier to locate and interview persons living in rural areas, so that the follow-up sample contained a small rural bias. The sample was also slightly biased in favour of those who had been in Level III or in Special Education at the time of school leaving.

CONTEXT

At the time the early leavers made the decision to quit school, sometime between early 1987 and mid-1988, unemployment rates in the country and in the province were down, perhaps as low as they had been for five years, and the overall economy had seen continual growth both nationally and provincially for some time. As a result, the early leavers were leaving school at a time when employment opportunities were relatively favourable, particularly in the service economy. Much of the opportunity, however, was in part-time, low wage jobs with few long-term career prospects. The recent past in Newfoundland had offered the expected opportunities in the traditional resource sectors, although at survey time, the continuation of these opportunities was seriously threatened.

STATUS OF THE EARLY LEAVERS

The average age of the early school leavers at the time of the follow-up interview was 20.1 years (see Figure 1). Most had left school 2.5 years previously, and about half had experienced two summer employment periods, while another half had experienced three. While most were still single, about 16% were in long-term relationships with another person. Twenty percent had children, though only 43% of those with children had partners. Most of the respondents had financial responsibility only for themselves. The most important sources of income for them in 1989 were salaries earned working for someone else or working for a company. For many, over 14%, income support programs of several types provided the principle income. For the large numbers reporting a second income source, Unemployment Insurance was that predominant source. The median total income reported for 1989 was $8100 (see Figure 2). Men earned almost twice as much as women on average, and persons living outside the province at interview time enjoyed incomes double those of people residing in their home communities.

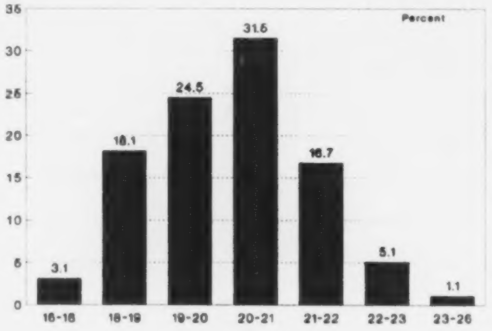


Figure 1
Age on January 1, 1990
(N=1009)

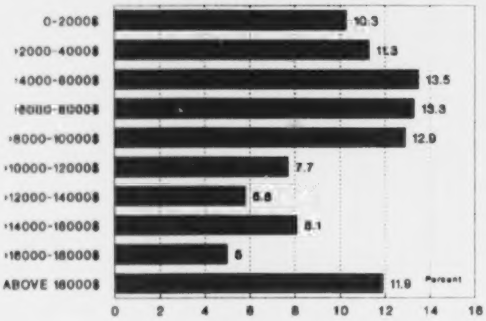


Figure 2
1989 Annual Income ($)
(N=786)

At interview time, two and one half years after leaving school, almost two thirds of the early leavers were still living at home with their parents. There was a tendency for a larger proportion of the women to have moved outside the home, either to reside with their partners, or to take up other living arrangements.

Seventy three percent of the sample was participating in the work force at the time of the interview in January, 1990, with an unemployment rate of 48.3% (see Figure 3). If the same calculations are based on those who excluded themselves from the work force by explicitly stating that they were not looking for work, the participation rate was almost 89%, and the unemployment rate was 57%. If the same statistics were estimated from those who did not want to work, and were not otherwise gainfully occupied at the time, the work force participation rate was between 91.4% and 98%, with an unemployment rate of as high as 60%.

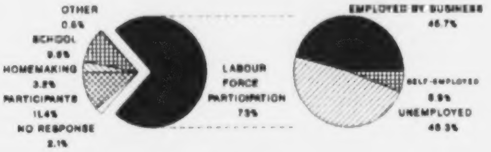


Figure 3
Labour Force
Participation on January 1, 1990

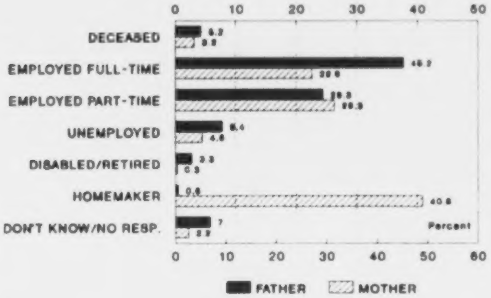


Figure 4
Parental Employment

Most of the interviewees reported that they had average or above reading and math skills. Only a few said that they had problems with either reading or math while on the job.

About 45% of the respondents said that their fathers had worked full-time during the two years prior to their leaving school (see Figure 4). Fewer of the mothers had been employed full-time, and over 40% had been full-time homemakers.

EMPLOYMENT PROFILE

Almost all of the sample of 1012 reported having worked in at least one full-time or part-time job between July 1988 and December 1989, which would cover the period since all had left school and which included two summer peak employment periods (see Figure 5). A small, but significant proportion of

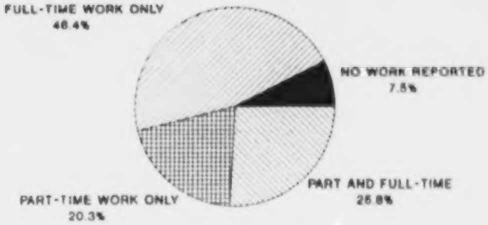


Figure 5
Categories of Employment

about 20% had had only part-time work during that period, while another 26% put together a medley of part and full-time employment in order to achieve an estimated median total of about 46 weeks of work, if they worked at all during this time. This estimate is believed to be somewhat inflated. At most, about 10% had achieved stable, long-term employment.

About 84% of the sample said that they had worked at some time during 1989 (see Figure 6). As expected, summer was the peak employment period with close to 60% employed at that time. Employment levels were considerably lower in the winter at about 35%. The median length of employment during the year was probably less than five months, with only 12.5% reporting employment for the full year.

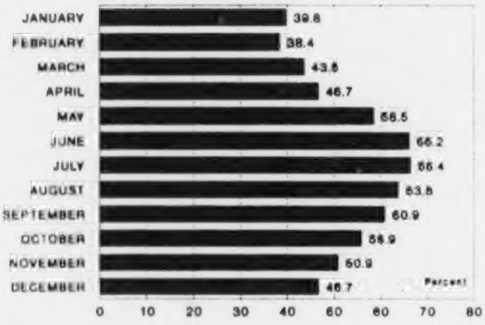


Figure 6
Total Employment by month in 1989

More specific information about the work experience of the early leavers was found in questions about the job that they had held for the longest period of time. The food service and processing industries were the largest employers, employing a total of 23% in these jobs. The fishing industry employed another eight percent. A substantial number were employed as babysitters, or as general manual labourers. Almost all the jobs were unskilled, requiring a minimum of training and preparation.

Over half of the respondents worked near their home community in jobs which lasted less than 20 weeks. The longest lasting jobs were held by the one-quarter who worked outside the Province of Newfoundland (see Figure 7). Many of the long-lasting jobs were found in the summer, although they were found in large numbers at other times of the year as well. Most of the jobs were located through the local social network, which the early leavers also most often credited as the main reason they were actually hired.

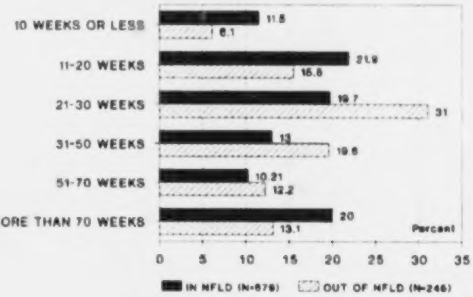


Figure 7
Length of the longest job

EDUCATIONAL PROFILE

About 23% of the sample of 1012 reported that they had participated in some form of academic upgrading since their decision to leave school (see Figure 8).

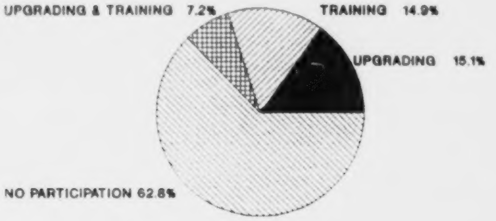


Figure 8
Participation in upgrading and training
(N=1012)

These programs were intended to improve basic literacy and numeracy, or lead to a high school diploma. A few of these had actually returned to high school. Fifty nine persons, about 5.8 % of the sample, reported having received a high school diploma or equivalency. While most of those in upgrading said that they wanted to do it for personal reasons, almost half also were interested in qualifying for work or for other training programs. By and large, persons in upgrading programs did them in or near their home community.

Two hundred and twenty five persons, including 73 of those who had taken upgrading, reported that they had taken at least one training or educational course since July, 1988. These courses gave specific skills, or further, post secondary, training to the participants. A number of workers had also received formal training in the work place. Holders of these jobs were generally employed longer, and had a larger income in 1989.

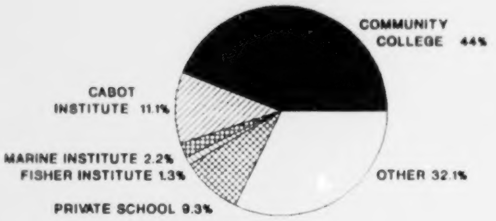


Figure 9
Institutions providing training (%)
(N=225)

While several of the early leavers reported involvement in more than one such program, the majority had taken only one, which for most was at least six months or more in duration, and involved fulltime study in excess of 25 hours a week. The community college system was the location of just under half of the programs, with a fair number also attending Cabot Institute (see Figure 9). Unlike the upgrading programs, where the majority of the students lived at home, only just more than half of the students lived at home while taking their training or educational program.

The respondents pursued study in 115 different areas. About 25 % were involved in mechanics and engineering of one sort or another. A large number became involved in job readiness programs, and a significant proportion undertook programs in the beauty culture and clerical areas. They found out about the programs in a variety of ways, in general

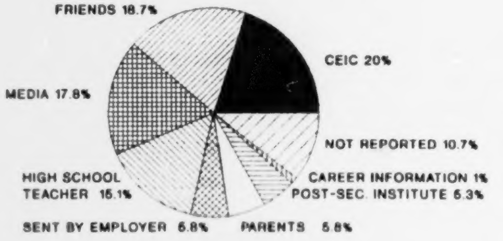


Figure 10
Source of information about training program

depending on institutional structures such as the Canada Employment Centres, high school counsellors, and post-secondary institutions (see Figure 10).

While most said that they took their course out of interest, the majority also had reasons that were career and employment related. Of the 225 persons who had undertaken training, 27 % were still in their longest program at the time of the interview. Fifty three percent reported they had successfully completed. A substantial number of those taking courses said that the effort had resulted in employment of some kind for them.

JOB AND EDUCATIONAL SEARCH ACTIVITIES

The early leavers reported having to overcome several barriers in their search for work (see Figure 11). The main problems had to do with their lack of experience, or with the economic situation. Fewer people said that their failure to complete high school constituted a problem in this regard. Not many people said that poor information and job search skills were a problem in their search for employment. In general, the severity with which problems were perceived was associated with the level of employment in 1989. A number of people said that they didn't want a job. For the most part, they were engaged in other, useful activity that explained this preference. Childcare responsibilities were not listed by many as a major barrier in taking up employment.

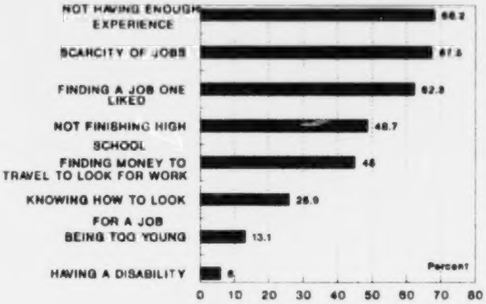


Figure 11
Problems in finding jobs
(N=1012)

At the beginning of 1990, before the real impact of the economic downturn began to be felt, the early school leavers in the sample nevertheless held a pessimistic view of their economic opportunities. Even though there were significant numbers rejecting high school, almost all felt that taking courses would be helpful to them in pursuing work opportunities. Almost every one who said that they tried to get a placement in education or training reported success. The respondents did not feel that educational search, or placement presented significant problems for them (see Figure 12). Over one fifth of the sample said that they had been involved in some form of upgrading, education or training during the one and

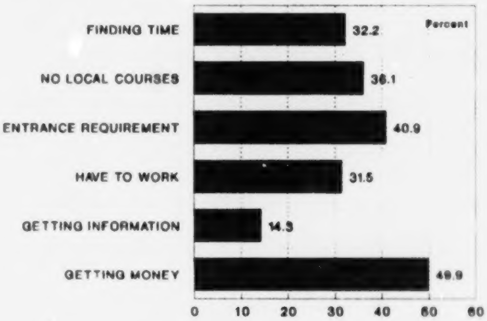


Figure 12
Problems in attending upgrading and training
(N=1004)

one-half years prior to the follow-up survey. They had received guidance in their search for educational opportunities from a number of sources, none of them predominant. They sought help from the local Canada Employment Centres and community colleges, or returned to the high school, and also depended on parents and friends. In general, if they said that they had applied for admission to a program, they reported success. Very few who had been engaged in educational search failed to get a placement.

Getting money to pay for education was the problem most often described by the sample. A large number, about 40 % also said they felt that they would have difficulty meeting entrance requirements. These were also the problems that were most likely to distinguish those attending school from those who did not.

In pursuing help about their work and education, parents, friends and relatives were approached most frequently, and were seen, by far, to be the most helpful resource available to the respondents (see Figure 13). As in the past, the respondents indicated that they generally limited their contacts to a few sources.

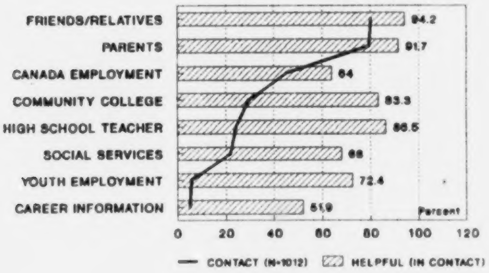


Figure 13
Sources of help in finding employment or educational opportunities

More than one-third of the respondents had travelled outside the Province, mostly to Ontario, to look for work, and the majority had been successful in the search (see Figure 14). For the most part, those travelling, did so to a destination where they had friends and family, and the majority returned to Newfoundland after working for a short time, usually for reasons not directly associated with their work.

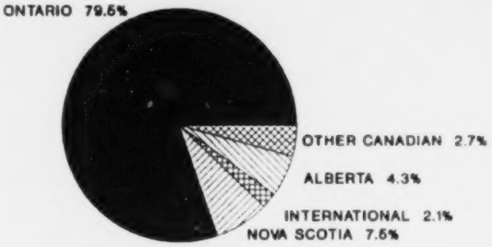


Figure 14
Destinations for out-of-province job search
(N=375)

PROGRESS AND SATISFACTIONS

There was an overall feeling of satisfaction among the respondents about their progress since leaving school (see Figure 15). Fewer than one-third felt that their lives had not gone as well as they had expected. These people tended not to have had as high a level

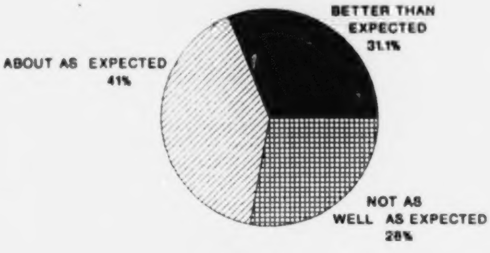


Figure 15
Self assessment of progress

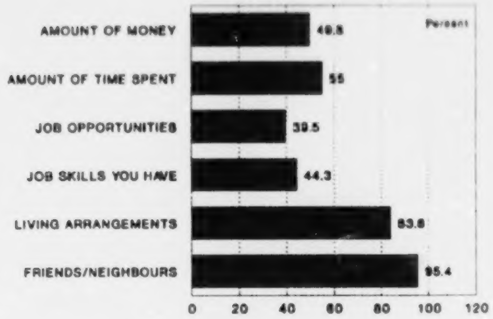


Figure 16
Reported satisfaction since leaving school
(N=1012)

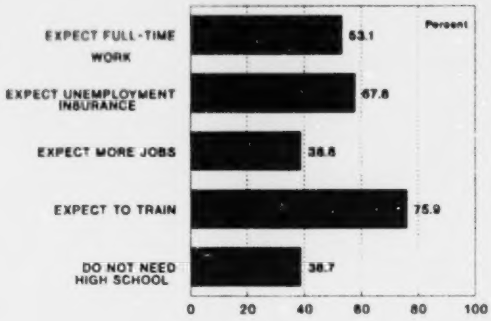


Figure 17
Expectations and outlooks
January 1990
(N=1012)

of labour market success as did those who were more satisfied with their overall progress. Despite the general level of satisfaction many felt, a large number were nonetheless dissatisfied with their job related skills, with the economic outlook, and with the amount of money they were earning (see Figure 16).

ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS, AND OUTLOOKS

If anything, the group of early school leavers in this study expected to be more mobile in the future than they had already shown themselves to be in the recent past. Overall, enough intended to leave their communities in the future that a net loss to the communities of these young people could be predicted. There would appear to have been a small tendency for those who train and upgrade to be among those planning to leave. Curiously, the intent to move from the Province did not seem associated with recent labour market success, or lack of success although those who had left had been more successful.

Almost half of the respondents thought that they would be less than fully employed in the coming year (1990), and over half anticipated some dependence on unemployment insurance (see Figure 17). They did not have very high aspirations for the jobs that they thought they would like to do in the future, either. For the most part, they aspired to work that would require six months or less of specific vocational training.

PROGRAMMING

The needs that began to emerge at this stage of the analysis was for programming that has a focus on the development of aspiration and motivation to upgrade and train. General agreement exists that the option of choice for early school leavers is to get them back into the classroom, but this analysis produced some evidence that the decision to leave school in the first place was being reinforced by subsequent experience in the work force and by the income support systems. The aspirations of the youth in the study, high and ambitious at school leaving time, were already beginning to drop to the level of their actual experience, suggesting that there will be less upgrading and training in the future, rather than more.

Changing and upgrading the aspirations of this group will not be easy. Different approaches will be required to motivate possible trainees depending on their level of economic success as many are satisfied with a level of success that is poor by conventional standards. The problem of motivating attendance in upgrading, both in basic literacy, as well as high school equivalency, needs to focus on the linkage, and relevancy of these programs to other, more instrumental outcomes for individuals, and not on the development of interest in the study or in a potential career path. Programs that attempt this will have to deliver real success in the marketplace with respect to these outcomes, which would include access to post-secondary training, improved income and longer-term and more secure employment opportunity.

Young homemakers have begun to demonstrate an ability to overcome obstacles to attain upgrading and training. These efforts should be encouraged as this group gets larger in the future, and should be supported by programs designed to ease the impact of the problems created by their family responsibilities.

Job readiness programs need to establish firmly the importance of accurate job market knowledge and knowledge of special skills that will assist in accessing the job market. The evidence at this time is that the youth at risk do not value these skills. Job readiness programs teaching job search skills should function in the real job market, and ensure that attempts at job search are reinforced with success in terms of positive employment outcomes. There should be a focus on encouraging individuals to become more independent of the assistance offered by their social networks during job search

At risk youth also need to learn to deal positively with less than satisfying and less than interesting jobs. The present option being exercised by many is to leave these jobs even when there are no work alternatives.

Entrance requirements for training should be directly linked to those skills needed for success in the training program.

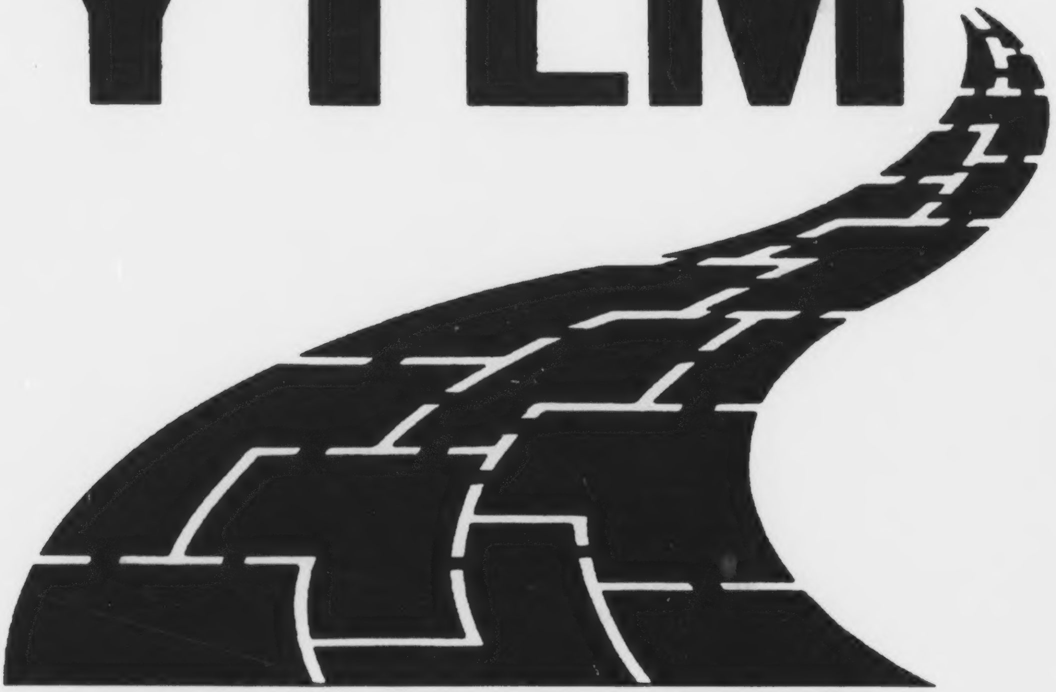
Community colleges should define the educational requirements of their local communities in terms of broader perspectives than the needs perceived locally. They should use educational experience as an opportunity to help people become independent of their communities. Presently, dependency on the local economy constrains the freedom of choice of youth.

The role of the secondary school should be expanded to assist youth comprehensively during the transition period. This will capitalize on the relationships, many of them positive, that youth have established and value in the local school systems.

It is also suggested that: (a) family-oriented programs need to be developed that focus on helping families to realize their potential to influence sons and daughters and change the nature and level of their aspirations; (b) the career information hot line should be used to help link youth with long-term and comprehensive counselling assistance; and (c) programming needs to be developed that will prepare youth to leave the home community in search of education and work and to develop satisfying lifestyles in the new locations.

YOUTH TRANSITION INTO THE LABOUR MARKET

YTLM



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December 1991

PREFACE

The study of youth transition into the labour market began several years ago, in the spring of 1987, when the Newfoundland and Labrador's Department of Career Development and Advanced Studies advertised for proposals to prepare a longitudinal study design of the transition of youth. The authors, then as part of the Institute of Educational Research and Development, Faculty of Education, Memorial University, made a submission and were awarded the contract. A report was made that became the basis for YTLM, the Transition of Youth into the Labour Market. The Department and the Institute, are no more, each the casualty of restructuring. Now, the authors, members of the Centre for Educational Research and Development within the Faculty of Education, work on the project with the Newfoundland Department of Education. Funding is provided by the Canada/Newfoundland Youth Employment Strategies Program and the Department of Education.

The project is a developmental study of the process of youth as they make the difficult transition into the labour market of Newfoundland and Labrador. The study was undertaken with the broad purpose of developing an understanding of the aspirations and needs of youth to better devise programming to help to meet these needs. The data gathered by the project can be analyzed on behalf of all agencies in the province, in addition to the government, who are involved in programming for youth.

A theoretical model has developed from the study which is used to help investigate the developmental span beginning with the completion or termination of the high school experience of youth, and continuing through their early adult life. Special, but not exclusive attention is given to the problems of young women, and rural Newfoundlanders.

The project consists of two parallel yet interrelated studies, one focusing on the full cohort of approximately 9000 Level III high school students at the end of the 1988-89 school year, and a second, which focuses on the full year cohort of students (grade 7 to Level III) who dropped out of school between Easter, 1987 and Easter 1988. At the time of publication of this report, there had been two surveys of the early leaver cohort, with a third survey just beginning. The questions asked during the surveys focus on themes common to all youth over the time span of the study, which presently is anticipated to extend through approximately age 25 for most subjects. In addition, other data have been provided through the Newfoundland Department of Education records and added to the project data base.

The local school systems were used to access the Level III sample and administer the initial questionnaire. School authorities were also instrumental in identifying and setting up the initial interviews with the early school leavers.

Three general questions are being asked in the analysis.

Question One. What is the nature of the transition of Newfoundland youth into the labour market, and what are the patterns of transition which relate to success and failure in transition?

Question Two. What is the status of the individual with respect to: 1)aspirations and work values; 2) search skills; 3) decision characteristics; 4) job-holding skills; 5) context factors; and 6), job-related skills?

Question Three. What changes take place through a transition stage in terms of: 1) aspirations and work values; 2) search skills; 3), decision characteristics; 4) job-holding skills; 5) context factors; and 6), job-related skills?

A number of groups of youth have been targeted at this time for special attention in the project. These are significant groups of youth who are already known to enter into the transition with serious difficulties to overcome if the transition is to be successful. They include young women completing high school, but not entering post-secondary training; rural youth completing high school, but not entering a post-secondary institution; youth who drop out prior to entering Level I in high school; youth who drop out after entering Level I; persons failing to complete post-secondary programs; persons who drop out who apply for upgrading (and those who do not apply); persons evolving a pattern of UIC and "make work" dependency; and other groups as they emerge from the analysis of the data.

Information from the study has already been used by a number of groups working with youth: several of the local youth strategies committees have received information about the nature of early school-leaving in their areas; WISE (Women in Science and Engineering has received information that has helped in the evaluation of their work; and the Department of Education has used information in the study of youth who leave the Province to attend post-secondary training programs. This is the first report to be issued on the first follow-up of the initial sample of early school leavers. A report of the first follow-up of the level III cohort will be available shortly.

Further information may be obtained by contacting the authors at: Centre for Educational Research and Development, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, (709)-737-3506/7549.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project the size of the Transition of Youth into the Labour Market cannot succeed without the assistance and cooperation of a great many people. We have been most fortunate to have received help from every direction, and from so many that it would be impossible to acknowledge all by name, or to describe all their efforts on our behalf. We can only say what we truly feel--that Newfoundland has an enormous resource in its people, dedicated to understanding and solving the very difficult problems that confront it.

We owe most of all to the group of early school leavers who were most generous with their time and patience in enduring our attentions, especially during an interview that lasted up to three quarters of an hour or more. It took courage on their part to reveal to us many of their thoughts and beliefs about a decision that they took in opposition to what many would think as the right way to go. In the process, these people have taught us new perspectives and a greater sympathy for the people we talk about when we refer to the "dropout".

The more than 100 people who represented us in the field, and helped to identify, locate and finally conduct most of the interviews with early leavers made a contribution that is difficult to over-estimate. We were trying to re-establish contact with almost 1300 early leavers. The field workers, with their intimate knowledge of local conditions and their ability to establish rapport with the early leavers, helped immeasurably in our success in finding and interviewing nearly 80% of the original sample.

We again asked and received help from several of the high school principals in the province to help us to locate replacements for our field workers when required. They all responded with interest and commitment to the study.

Every project is marked by a few people whose contributions stand out. We take pleasure in making special note of these and in expressing our

sincere appreciation. First, we would like to thank Ms. Kelly Brocklehurst who was responsible for producing the manuscript. All of us struggled with the intricacies of technology at this stage, but Ms. Brocklehurst was able to get beyond the difficulties, with unfailing good humour. She gave of her own time in the process and enabled us to finally give form and substance to the final product.

We would like, again, to make special mention of Mrs. Gwen Brokenshire. Gwen was in the process of retiring at the time we were planning the second survey of the early leavers. She was the person who was responsible for the development of the interview protocol and procedures, and her work laid a solid foundation for the success we have subsequently enjoyed in this stage of the study.

During the years since the beginning of the study, we have been privileged to work with several outstanding representatives of the Department of Education and the Department of Employment and Labour Relations, who made up the advisory committee for the study, and helped us to maintain our focus as we progressed through the various study stages. In particular, we would like to acknowledge the special assistance that we have received from Claude Clarke and Carla Woodworth-Linus.

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SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION

The study of transition is directed toward increasing our understanding of the accommodations made by people as they deal with the changes that influence their lives. While young people are still in public school, it is usual to view the changes as having a high degree of predictability, and the process of adjustment to be similarly predictable. One of the functions of public school, in fact, is to help students anticipate and prepare for change, so that when it comes, the transition will be smooth, and have a reasonably predictable outcome. One reason that early school leavers are such a matter of concern is that from the societal viewpoint, dropouts subvert the process of transition that has been planned for them by leaving school without "proper" preparation. The consequence for dropouts is a prediction of less "success" in terms of their ability to achieve a satisfactory level of economic self-sufficiency; that is, to be net contributors to the economy. Some might also predict greater difficulty in adjusting to adult responsibilities such as citizenship, dealing with government and business, and other like concerns.

During the public school years, pre-adolescence and adolescence, the stages of development are seen to be relatively age-related, and this is reflected to a considerable extent in the organization of the education of children in these stages. One view of the process of early-leaving is that dropouts do not fit these patterns in significant ways. Once a person leaves school, the pace of transition becomes much less predictable, as it is driven by events that are not subject to schedule, or the age of a person. Individuals are nearing the peak of their physical and intellectual powers, and are under some compulsion to begin an independent life, though even here, there are likely quite broad individual differences. They may marry at some time, move from their community, get fired, decide to go back to school, or become disabled. None of these things happen at predictable times, if they happen at all, except in a very general way. Stages of transition, if they exist at all during the young adults life, are only weakly associated with the age of the person, and thus are very unpredictable and elastic in their outcomes.

This report addresses the first two years of transition of the young adult in Newfoundland and Labrador who has left public school prior to graduation. It documents the work and educational experience of these people and tries to put this into the context of the personal levels of satisfaction with the accommodations that are being made to life without school. From the viewpoint of society, all, or nearly all of these people left school with major deficits in their preparation for transition to adult life. From the first report, we know that their personal outlook was quite optimistic at the time that they decided to terminate their public school education. They were entering an economy that was functioning at the peak of the upturn and were embarking on their initial contact with the "real" world. Most expected to enter the workforce full-time, and a very large number had plans to return to school.

The second survey of the early school leavers in the Youth Transition Study took place during January and early February of 1990. Nearly all of the participants in the survey had been out of school from two to three years, years which had been fairly prosperous by Newfoundland standards. However, the economy of the country was poised for a downturn after an extended period of growth and relative prosperity. In Newfoundland attention was focused on the coming year, a fisheries crisis foretold by lowered quotas, and threats of an impending major downsizing of the overall fishing effort. The inshore sector was particularly at risk. Also, the Hibernia project had not yet had an impact on the outlook in the province.

THE CANADIAN ECONOMY

During the period 1980-1990 the Canadian economy had gone through a complete cycle, beginning in 1981-82 with a severe recession, followed by an expansionary phase between 1983 to 1988, and then to a moderated economy in 1989 (Statistics Canada,1991). In 1987, the year many of our sample decided to leave school, continued a trend which had seen a growth in employment each year since 1984. Since the decline in the early 80's, employment in Canada had grown steadily with annual growth rates not falling below 2.5%.

Full-time jobs accounted for most of the employment growth. The lack of growth in part-time employment was attributed in part to competition from employers offering full-time employment. One implication is that an actual labour shortage existed at the time, forcing employers to compete for workers in the lower skill categories by offering attractive working conditions. The consequence was a decline in the number of persons who had to work part-time because they had no full-time work alternatives (Statistics Canada, 1989).

In 1987, the Economic Council of Canada, based on a number of assumptions, had predicted a steady pattern of growth for Canada as a whole until 1989 with continuing wide disparities in regional growth rates. It projected continued employment growth in 1987-88 and a decrease in the unemployment rate, averaging 8.5% for the period 1987-91 on a Canada-wide basis.

Persons aged 15 to 24 have typically experienced higher levels of unemployment than other age groups in Canada. The higher rates are often attributed to the fact that many in this group are new participators in the labour force. The Canadian unemployment rate for 15-24 year olds in 1980 was 13.2%, almost double the adult rate. In 1983, the rate peaked at 19.8% but by 1989 it was at a low of 11.3%.(Statistics Canada, 1989).

One of the most significant developments during the 1980's was the progressive aging of the labour force. In addition to the growth of the economy, another factor contributing to the drop in unemployment during the period was the declining population of 15-24 year olds. Because of this, the labour market participation and unemployment rates of the group improved during the decade. In particular, the rising participation rates among youths helped cushion the impact of population decline on the supply of labour in the country

Although the numbers of youth in the country are declining, the number of students has increased. The work force participation rates have increased as well for 15-24 year olds registered as full-time students. The increased competition for work from these full-time students, who accounted for almost a quarter of the 15-24 year olds in the labour force in 1989, has resulted in fewer jobs for the less qualified people in this age group, including early school leavers (Cote, 1990).

Nationally, from 1983, the service sector has continued to grow faster than the goods producing sector. This has had an effect on youth employment. In 1989-90 the service sector accounted for over 70% of the labour market with the proportion of young people employed in this area even higher. According to Statistics Canada, the large number of part-time, low wage jobs in the service sector has created a demand for youth labour (Perspectives, 1990).

THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT IN NEWFOUNDLAND

While the country as a whole saw economic growth between 1987-89, situations varied among provinces. According to the Economic Council of Canada, although Canada's unemployment rates had dropped progressively since 1983 in some provinces, the decline was slow in Newfoundland. Newfoundland has for a number of years been a victim of high unemployment rates - rates which have often been double the Canadian average.

The situation for youth in the province has been much the same. For example, in 1987, the unemployment rate for youth in Newfoundland was 28.8%, the highest in Canada and three times that of Ontario. There have been some significant changes in the youth employment situation in the past few years. The number of youth in the Newfoundland labour force decreased resulting in an increased participation rate from 46.2% in 1987 to 49.6% in 1989. The corresponding decrease in unemployment rates went from 28.8% in 1987 to 23.8% in 1989 (Statistics Canada, 1991).

SUMMARY

At the time the early leavers left school between 1987-1988, unemployment rates were down, and the overall economy was seeing continual growth both nationally and provincially. As a result, the early leavers were dropping out of school at a time when employment opportunities were relatively favourable, particularly in the service economy. Much of the opportunity, however, was in part-time, low wage jobs with few long-term career prospects. The recent past in Newfoundland had offered the expected opportunities in the traditional resource sectors, although at survey time, the continuation of these opportunities was seriously threatened.

SECTION TWO

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEW SAMPLE

INTERVIEWING PROCEDURES AND SAMPLE SIZE

The reader is referred to the report on the initial survey (Spain and Sharpe, 1990) for a description of the procedures for identifying the initial sample. Of the 2109 early leavers identified at that time, 1276 were interviewed. Of these, 1274 interviews produced useable data. The follow-up survey was directed at the sample interviewed in the initial survey.

The interviews were conducted by a combination of persons located in the communities, and by Youth Transition into the Labour Market (YTLM) staff in St. John's. Most of the community based personnel had been involved in the initial survey and had considerable experience by this time with the project and its objectives. In the case of new interviewers, the same procedures were followed as in the past; the principal of the local school was called and asked to nominate suitable candidates. All personnel were provided with an interviewer's manual, and were briefed by telephone. The local interviewers had the option of interviewing in person, or by phone. If a person had moved from the community, the responsibility for contact was assumed by the St. John's office which staffed interviewers to search out and interview the subject.

A total of 1012 useable interviews, 79.4% of the original sample of 1275, were obtained in this way. It proved to be impossible to re-establish contact with 14.6% of the original sample. Only 4.2% declined to be interviewed if contact was established. Because of a record-keeping error, 1.6% of those not interviewed could not be classified. Assuming that the persons who could not be contacted were all living away from home, 36.5% of the original sample of 1275 were living away from their home community at the time of the interview. This was about the same proportion as in the originally identified group of 2109 school leavers (see Table 2.1).

DESCRIPTION OF THE FOLLOW-UP SAMPLE

Assessment of bias in the follow-up

In order to form a baseline for the interpretation of the statistics presented in this report, a number of characteristics of the original sample were examined and contrasted with the same characteristics in the follow-up. With an attrition of about 20% from the original sample, it was a matter of some interest to assess the possibility that this attrition was associated in a significant way with important characteristics of the population being assessed. Several of these characteristics were examined with this end in view.

The basic procedure was to compare the distributions of the characteristics in the follow-up sample with the distributions of the same variables in the attrition sample. This procedure gives a reasonable picture of bias in the marginal distributions of each of the characteristics, but it does not address another important question--the possibility that the bias is in an interaction of two or more factors. This is a more difficult matter, and will not be addressed here.

Table 2.1
Status of the original sample st the follow-up interview
(N=1275)

Status	Freq.	Percent
Interviewed		
At home	738	57.9
Away from home within the province	139	10.9
outside the province	135	10.6
No contact		
Living at home	1	0.1
Away from home within the province	11	0.9
outside the province	45	3.5
Undetermined	128	10.0
Refused		
At home	46	3.6
Away from home within the province	2	0.2
outside the province	5	0.4
Deceased	4	0.3
Unclassified	21	1.6

Note: The initial sample was 1275.
Follow-up sample size (i.e. total interviewed) was 1012.

Gender and Geography

In a longitudinal study, the real test of bias is in the inter-relationships of the variables of interest. In this study, gender, and the rural/urban character of the sample were perhaps of most interest of all the factors that have been associated with the transition process. Each of these factors, through differences in opportunity, socialization, attitudes, and self concept, to name just a few correlates, are considered to be potentially influential in the transition process. A bias in one of these factors could have implications in the interpretation of other outcomes.

The follow-up sample was 62% male and 38% female. In terms of the geographic location, 71.4% of the sample was rural, while 28.6% was urban. This was based on the original Department of Education classification of the location of the community schools, and their proximity to a population density greater than 5000. The distribution of gender in the follow-up sample did not differ significantly from the attrition group. However, there was a significant difference in the two distributions with respect to the rural/urban characteristic. The follow-up was able to interview significantly more persons in the rural classification than in the urban classification (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3).

Table 2.2
Comparison of the distribution of gender in the first ESL follow-up and attrition samples

	Male		Female		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Attrition	166	63.1	97	36.9	263	20.6
Follow-up	627	62.0	385	38.0	1012	79.4
Column Total	793	62.2	482	37.8	1275	100.0

Note: Expressed as percentages of the attrition and follow-up sample.

When the follow-up sample of 1012 was examined with respect to the combinations of gender and geographic location, it was found that the distributions were about the same as in the original sample. However, the difference due to geography was evident when this was compared to the attrition

Table 2.3
Comparison of the distribution of geographic location in the ESL follow-up and attrition samples

	Rural		Urban		Row Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq	Percent
Attrition	158	60.1	105	39.9	263	20.6
Follow-up	723	71.4	289	28.6	1012	79.4
Total	881	69.1	394	30.9	1275	100.0

Note: $x^2_1 = 12.63$, $p < .05$

sample. The significance of this is not immediately apparent at this level of analysis. It does, however, reinforce the possibility of a rural bias in the sample (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4
Comparison of the Initial and follow-up samples by gender and geographic location

Gender	Geographic location	Initial Sample (N=1275)	Follow-up Sample (N=1012)	Attrition Group (N=263)
		Percent	Percent	Percent
Male	Rural	42.4	43.5	38.0
	Urban	19.8	18.5	25.1
Female	Rural	26.7	28.0	22.1
	Urban	11.1	10.1	14.8

Note: $x^2_1 = 13.06$, $p < .05$

Educational region and denomination

While it might be expected that regional effects, or effects associated with the denomination of the schools, if any, would diminish over time, the breakdown of the follow-up sample was nonetheless examined with respect to these factors. The regional distribution of the follow-up sample was about the same as the initial sample. Although the differences in the regional distributions were quite small, it can be seen in a comparison of the attrition group with the follow-up group, that there was less success in completing interviews in Region one (Avalon) than in the other regions (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5
Regional distribution of the initial and the follow-up sample

Region	Initial Sample (N=1275)	Follow-up Sample (N=1012)	Attrition Sample (N=263)
	Percent	Percent	Percent
1 Avalon	29.9	27.9	37.6
2 Central	16.4	17.9	10.6
3 South	31.8	33.8	24.3
4 West	17.3	16.3	21.3
5 Labrador	4.6	4.1	6.1

Note: $x^2_1=25.93$, $p< .05$

The denominational distribution of the original and follow-up samples was also similar, with about 2% more from the Integrated schools, and fewer from Roman Catholic schools than in the original sample. When the follow-up was compared to the attrition, these differences were seen to be significant (see Table 2.6).

Table 2.6
Denominational distributions of the initial and follow-up samples

Denomination	Initial Sample (N=1274)	Follow-up Sample (N=1012)	Attrition Sample (N=263)
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Integrated	63.9	66.0	54.4
Pentecostal	4.9	4.8	5.3
Roman Catholic	31.4	29.1	40.3

Note: $x^2_1 = 12.80, p < .05$

Age and last grade completed before school-leaving

A number of the characteristics of the original sample could be important in predisposing people to move out of contact or refuse an interview. Two other factors that were considered were the age at school leaving and the grade level at school leaving. Each of these could influence transition behaviour in a number of ways, including: determining the level of literacy, other educational qualifications in the job market, indicating experience and readiness for marriage, or leaving home.

A comparison of the initial and follow-up samples showed that there was not very much difference in the ages of the two with respect to the time that they left school. These differences were found to be trivial, when the follow-up and attrition groups were compared (see Table 2.7).

An examination of the grade assignment at school leaving showed small, but significant differences between the sample at the time of the first follow up, and at the time of the initial survey. This can be seen more readily in the comparison of the follow-up and attrition groups. The follow-up was more successful in interviewing people who had been in special education or Level III at the time of school leaving, and was least successful in contacting those who had been in

Table 2.7
Comparison of the age at time of school leaving in the initial and follow-up samples

Age	Original Sample (N=1240)	Follow-up Sample (N=993)	Attrition Sample (N=248)
	Percent	Percent	Percent
At or below 15	0.9	0.7	0.8
15 to 16	6.9	7.1	6.0
16 to 17	22.7	22.8	22.6
17 to 18	29.4	28.6	32.7
18 to 19	26.1	26.8	23.4
19 to 20	11.0	11.0	11.3
20 to 21	2.3	2.4	2.0
More than 21	0.7	0.6	1.2

Note: Age could not be computed for 35 of the original sample.

Level I (see Table 2.8).

Representativeness of the sample

As the preceding discussion has demonstrated, a comparison of the follow-up sample with the initial sample showed only small, but in some cases significant, differences when the marginal distributions of a number of salient characteristics of the follow-up sample, were compared with respect to their distributions at the time of the initial interview. At this level of analysis, there was no difference between the samples with respect to gender, or to the age at school leaving. There were differences in the rural/urban characterization, the geographic region, the denomination of their schools, and the grade at school leaving.

Table 2.8
A comparison of the distribution of grade assignment at school leaving of the initial and first follow-up sample

Grade assignment at school leaving	Initial Sample (N=1275)	Follow-up Sample (N=1012)	Attrition Sample (N=263)
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Special Education	9.0	9.8	5.8
Work Study	8.3	8.0	9.7
Seven	0.6	0.8	0.0
Eight	4.7	4.7	4.7
Nine	10.6	11.1	8.5
Level I	17.5	15.8	24.0
Level II	22.0	21.7	22.9
Level III	27.4	28.2	24.4

There was a definite possibility that a further rural bias had been introduced into the data. Most of the other factors that were significant, for example, region, denomination, and grade, were probably related to the rural bias; a demonstration of this requires further analysis. Therefore, to the extent that the geographic location can influence the trends under discussion, readers need to keep in mind that the trends portrayed in this study may apply somewhat more to the rural areas of the province.

SUMMARY

The first follow-up survey of the original group of 2109 early school leavers that were identified during school year 1987-88 was conducted in January, 1990. An attempt was made to re-estàblish contact with the 1275 persons sampled in the original survey, resulting in a follow-up survey sample of 1012 useable interviews. The follow-up, conducted just over two years after the first set of interviews, found that over 36% of the original sample had moved from their hometown. The distribution of gender remained the same in the follow-up survey as it was in the original sample; however, it proved to be easier to locate and interview persons living in rural areas, so that the follow-up sample contains a small rural bias. The sample was also slightly biased in favour of those who had been in Level III or in Special Education at the time of school leaving.

SECTION THREE

PERSONAL PROFILE OF EARLY LEAVERS AT INTERVIEW TIME

AGE

At about the time of the interview, on 1 January 1990, the average age of the interview sample was 20.1 years. The youngest had just achieved the school leaving age of 16, and a few were over age 23. The middle 50% , perhaps the most typical of all the school leavers in the sample, ranged in age from 19.1 years to 20.9 years, young adults by most standards (see Table 3.1).

Typically, it had been about two and one half years since school leaving. Some had decided to leave school as long as three years before the follow-up interview, while for a few, it had been only one and one half years. This is significant in that those out of school for more than 2.4 years were essentially the 1987 summer leavers. These people had decided to leave at the time of peak employment in the Province, opposed to those who left during the school year. It may be supposed that they had experienced a higher level of immediate employment opportunity than did the remainder of the sample, who left school during the school year. They had also had an opportunity in three summer employment cycles in the intervening time since school leaving, compared to two cycles for the remainder. Finally, they entered the labour market before the effects of the current recession and fisheries crisis became significant economic factors (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.1
Age on 1st January 1990, at the time of the follow-up survey
(N=1009)

Age	Freq.	Percent
16 to 17	3	0.3
17 to 18	28	2.8
18 to 19	183	18.1
19 to 20	247	24.5
20 to 21	318	31.5
21 to 22	169	16.7
22 to 23	51	5.1
23 to 24	7	0.7
24 to 25	2	0.2
25 to 26	1	0.1

Note: Age of three subjects could not be calculated.
Mean=20.0916 Standard Deviation=1.25327

Table 3.2
Number of years since school leaving
(N=1012)

Years	Freq.	Percent
Not computed	6	0.6
1.25 to 1.50	1	0.1
1.50 to 1.75	30	3.0
1.75 to 2.00	134	13.2
2.00 to 2.25	184	18.2
2.25 to 2.50	67	6.6
2.50 to 2.75	549	54.2
2.75 to 3.00	41	4.1
Not available	6	0.6

Note: Mean=2.35174; Standard Deviation=0.342501; Median=2.53

FAMILY AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY

Marital status

The majority of early leavers (81.8%) were single at the time of the interview. One hundred and sixty-five persons (16.3%) reported being married or living common law. A greater proportion of women (28.3%) than men (8.9%) were married (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3
Crosstabulation of gender and marital status
(N=1012)

Marital status	Male (N=627)		Female (N=385)		Total (N=1012)	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Single	560	89.3	268	69.6	828	81.8
Married/ common law	56	8.9	109	28.3	165	16.3
Other	5	0.8	2	0.5	4	0.4
No response	6	1.0	6	1.6	12	1.2

The average age of the married men was 20.6 years, just over one-half year older than the unmarried men. The youngest of the 55 married men was not quite 18 years of age. In contrast, the ages of the married women were only about three months older on average than the women who were single, and nearly one-half year younger than the average married man. The youngest married woman had just passed her seventeenth birthday (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4
Age of early leavers by gender and marital status (Years)

Marital status	Gender					
	Male		Female		Total	
	Freq.	Mean	Freq.	Mean	Freq.	Mean
Single	558	20.04	268	20.03	826	20.04
Married/common Law	55	20.63	109	20.26	164	20.39
Total	613	20.09	377	20.09	990	20.09

Number of children

Two hundred and fifteen (21.2%) of the respondents said they had children. Approximately 83% of these reported having one child, and 12.6% said they had two children (see Table 3.5).

Table 3.5
How many children do you have?
(N=215)

Number of children	Freq.	Percent of total (N=1012)	Percent having children (N=215)
No children	179	69.2	---
One	179	17.7	83.3
Two	27	2.7	12.6
Three	1	0.1	0.5
No Response	8	10.1	---

One hundred forty five, or 37.7% of the women in the survey reported having children. While one woman reported having three children, most of the 145 (88.3%) said they had one child. Interestingly, a higher proportion of the males than females said that they had two children (20.0% compared to 9.0%)

Of those persons who reported having children, about 55% were single, 43% were married or living common law and 1% were separated. The difference was about the same for both men and women (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6
Parental status by gender and relationship

Do you have children?		Male			Female		
		Total	Single	M/CL	Total	Single	M/CL
No response	Freq.	189	12	3	9	2	1
	Percent	2.9	80.0	20.0	2.3	67.7	33.3
Yes	Freq.	70	39	30	145	79	65
	Percent	11.2	56.5	43.5	37.7	54.5	45.5
No	Freq.	539	509	25	231	187	43
	Percent	86.0	95.3	4.7	60.0	81.3	18.7
Total	Freq.	627	560	58	385	268	110
	Percent	62.0	90.6	9.4	38.0	70.9	29.1

Note: Totals do not tally across and within gender because of missing data.
M/CL (married or common law relationship).

Although people with children tended not to be in long term relationships at the time of the survey, there was also a tendency for persons in long term relationships to have started a family. Of persons in such relationships, 56.5% reported having at least one child. This was somewhat more true for the women with partners, 59.5% of whom reported having children.

Responsibility for childcare

Responsibility for the care of children was an important issue in this study, especially with respect to the women. A high priority responsibility such as this can be expected to impact considerably on future attempts to upgrade education or to seek employment. As expected there were considerable gender differences. Most of the women with children, 78.6% , reported that child care was their main job. Fewer men with children, 20.0% , reported that this was the case for them (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7
Child care responsibility of those with children by gender

Responsible for childcare as your main job	Male		Female		Row Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
No Response	16	22.9	7	4.8	23	10.7
Yes	14	20.0	114	78.6	128	59.5
No	40	57.1	24	16.6	64	29.8
Column Total	70	32.6	145	67.4	215	100.0

Long term relationships also influenced child care responsibility. More of both men and women, who were married or living common law, took care of the children as their main job; about 28% in the case of the men and 89% in the case of the women. Fewer single men and women had child care responsibilities, particularly in the case of women, with the proportion being 70% of these in such relationships.

FINANCES

The study respondents were asked a number of questions about their finances, ranging from queries about sources of income to the nature of their financial responsibility. The questions sought answers about the financial independence of the subjects, since this has particular implications regarding their satisfaction with their lifestyle and their ability to pursue educational upgrading, including the likelihood that they will do so.

Financial responsibility for others

At the time of the first follow-up interviews, most of the early leavers (78.8%) reported having to support only themselves. One hundred and forty nine respondents, or 15.1% , supported one other person in addition to themselves, and 6.2% supported two or more additional persons (see Table 3.8).

Inspecting this by gender it was found that 44, or 8.1% of single men, considered themselves financially responsible for at least one more person in addition to themselves. Of the married men, 64.3% reported a similar obligation. It was quite interesting to discover that 35.7% of married men did not report a financial obligation for anyone but themselves.

Of the women in long term relationships, 42.2% reported they had financial responsibility for at least one other person besides themselves. Surprisingly, 30.9% of single women, one in three in this category, reported financial responsibility for at least one additional person in addition to herself.

Table 3.8
Financial responsibility for others by relationship
(N=1012)

Number of dependents	Gender	Single		Partnered		Other		Total	
		Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Self Only	Male	513	92.1	20	35.7	4	80.0	537	86.9
	Female	183	69.1	58	55.8	1	50.0	242	65.2
	Total	696	84.1	78	48.8	5	71.4	779	78.8
One	Male	31	5.6	10	17.9	1	20.0	142	6.8
	Female	75	28.3	31	29.8	1	50.0	107	28.8
	Total	106	12.9	41	25.6	2	28.6	149	15.1
Two	Male	13	2.4	26	46.4	0	0.0	39	6.3
	Female	7	2.6	15	14.4	0	0.0	22	6.0
	Total	20	32.8	41	67.2	0	0.0	61	6.17

Note: Percentages are expressed as column percentages, e.g. 92.1% of single males were responsible for self only.

Sources of income in 1989

The early leavers were asked to identify their various, and in some cases, multiple sources of income in 1989 (see Table 3.9). The majority (77%) reported working for someone other than themselves while 52.7% said they collected unemployment insurance. About 29% said they received free room and board and 20.8% received money from their parents. One hundred and ten persons (10.9%) reported that they had been on social assistance, or welfare, at some time during the year.

Table 3.9
How did you support yourself in 1989?
(N=1012)

Response	Freq.	Percent
Working for someone else	779	77.0
Unemployment insurance	533	52.7
Free room and board	289	28.6
Money from parents	210	20.8
Odd jobs	162	16.0
Social assistance	110	10.9
Make-work projects	75	7.4
Self-employed	75	7.4
Income of spouse	91	9.0
Other (savings etc)	41	4.1
Training allowance	34	3.4
Workmen's compensation	5	0.5

Note: Respondents could give more than response.

The respondents were asked to identify their two most important ways of getting money in 1989. As Table 3.10 shows, the majority (70.6%) of early leavers cited working for someone or a company as their most important source. For 14.5% , however, income support programs were the most important sources of income. These persons said that they relied most heavily during the year on unemployment insurance, social assistance, or make-work projects.

Table 3.10
Most important way of getting money in 1989
(N=1012)

Response	Freq.	Percent
Working for someone else	714	70.6
Unemployment Insurance	77	7.6
Social assistance/welfare	45	4.4
Self-employed	37	3.7
Income of spouse	34	3.4
Money from parents	32	3.2
Make-work projects	25	2.5
Odd jobs	11	1.1
Training allowance	9	0.9
Other (savings, etc)	1	0.1
Worker's compensation	1	0.1
Source not reported	23	2.3
Uncodeable	3	0.3

When asked what was their next most important source for getting money in 1989, only 710 or 70.2% responded. Presumably the remainder relied upon their primary source. Four hundred and twenty early leavers, or 59.2% of the 710, named unemployment insurance. Of the 714 persons who said that working for someone else was their most important source of money, 380, or 53.2% also depended on income support programs, primarily UI, during 1989. A surprising number of persons, 6.9% of those reporting important second sources, said that they also relied on their parents to supplement their employment income (see Tables 3.11 and 3.12).

Table 3.11
Next most important way of getting money in 1989
(N=710)

Response	Freq.	Percent
Unemployment insurance	420	59.2
Money from parents	72	10.1
Working for someone else	70	9.9
Odd jobs	50	7.0
Social assistance/welfare	22	3.1
Income of spouse	21	3.0
Other	14	2.0
Free room and board	11	1.5
Training allowance	10	1.4
Self-employed	10	1.4
Make-work projects	7	1.0
Workmen's compensation	2	0.3
No response	1	0.1

Table 3.12
Second most important source of income in 1989 for those reporting employment as most important
(N=714)

Source of income	Freq.	Percent
UIC	369	51.7
Parents	44	6.2
Odd jobs	30	4.2
Income of spouse	17	2.4
Working for someone	8	1.1
Social assistance	8	1.1
Self-employed	7	1.0
Training allowance	5	0.7
Free room and board	5	0.7
Make work projects	3	0.4
Worker's compensation	2	0.4
Other	11	1.5
No response	205	28.7

Income in 1989

After receiving information on the means of support in 1989 of the early leavers and their major sources for obtaining the money, the respondents were asked to approximate their total income from all sources during that period. One hundred and seventy five, or 17.3% of all the respondents chose not to respond. Another 24 persons said they had no income. It was noted that more women than men, and more urban than rural residents decided not to respond to this question. Of the non-respondents, 111 said that they had employment income. Almost everyone else reported income from some other sources as well, so the assumption was made that the data give a reasonable picture of the income level of all early leavers for the time in question.

About 90% of the early leavers reported an income less than $19000. The median income was a mere $8100 for those reporting an income, and it must be remembered that a few, 1.5%, reported they had no income (see Table 3.13).

Table 3.13
Distribution of income reported by early leavers for 1989
(N=786)

Income ($)	Freq.	Percent
0-2000	84	10.3
>2000-4000	92	11.3
>4000-6000	110	13.5
>6000-8000	108	13.3
>8000-10000	105	12.9
>10000-12000	63	7.7
>12000-14000	47	5.8
>14000-16000	66	8.1
>16000-18000	41	5.0
>18000-20000	31	3.8
>20000-22000	19	2.3
>22000-24000	8	1.0
>24000-26000	12	1.5
>26000-28000	6	0.7
>28000-30000	8	1.0
Above 30000	13	1.6

Note: Mean=10132.5; Standard Deviation=7323.12; Median=9000

An examination of income by gender and marital status is very informative. It was quite clear that males reporting income enjoyed nearly double the income of the females with incomes. The median income for the men was $9920 while the median income of the women was only $5152. It was also interesting to note that an advantage in overall reported income was indicated by persons who were in long term relationships. Persons who were single reported a median income of $7900 as contrasted to the $9117 reported by those with partners (see Table 3.14).

Table 3.14
Median income in 1989 by gender and marital status

Marital status	Gender				Total	
	Male		Female			
	Freq.	Median ($)	Freq.	Median ($)	Freq.	Median ($)
Single	482	9681	205	4659	687	7900
Married/CL	50	13500	85	6230	135	9117
Total	532	9920	290	5152	822	8100

Note: 822 persons provided information on total income
CL=common law

Those respondents who were outside the Province at the time of the interview had a median income more than double that of those interviewed in Newfoundland. Surprisingly, those interviewed in the province, but away from their home communities, reported a median income that was somewhat lower than those who were home (see Table 3.15).

Table 3.15
Median income by location at interview time

Location	Freq.	Median Income($)
Home Community	583	7500
Elsewhere in Newfoundland	109	6866
Outside Newfoundland	123	14467

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Most of the respondents (63.7%) reported living at home with their parents at the time of the interview (see Table 3.16). One hundred and seven (10.7%) were living with a partner while 16.6% were living with friends or relatives. Only a small percentage (2.7%) were living alone.

The living arrangements of the women differed significantly from those of the men. More women lived away from their parents, a larger proportion of women were partnered and living with their spouses, and more women than men lived alone, or in other arrangements than with parents, relatives or friends.

At the time of the interview, the majority (72.2%) of early leavers reported that they were living in the same community they grew up in. Only 139 persons or 14.1% reported living elsewhere in Newfoundland; 13.7% were living outside the province. Curiously, more females than males were interviewed out of their home community. They tended to have moved in greater numbers elsewhere in Newfoundland. This seems to have been a function of the marital status of the women. The single women stayed in their home community in about the same proportion as the men (see Table 3.17).

Table 3.16
Living arrangements by gender
(N=999)

Living	Male		Female		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Parents	446	72.2	190	49.9	636	63.7
Friends	53	8.6	31	8.1	84	8.4
Relatives	52	8.4	30	7.9	82	8.2
Spouses's family	7	1.1	15	3.9	22	2.2
Spouse	35	5.7	72	18.9	107	10.7
Alone	7	1.1	20	5.2	27	2.7
Other	18	2.9	23	6.0	41	100.0

Table 3.17
Place of residence by gender

Residence	Male		Female		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Home community	463	75.5	247	66.6	710	72.2
Elsewhere in NFLD	67	10.9	72	19.4	139	14.1
Outside NFLD	83	13.5	52	14.0	135	13.7
Column Total	613	62.3	371	37.7	984	100.0

PRESENT ACTIVITIES

The beginning of the interview focused on the status of the early leaver at the time of the interview. The respondents were given several categories of activities and were asked to indicate which of them applied to their situation at the time of the interview in January 1990 (see Table 3.18). In some instances, more than one situation applied to the respondents, resulting in multiple responses. Three hundred and eighty-three (37.8%) of those responding reported that they were looking for work while being either employed or unemployed, and 34.3% reported working for someone. Thirteen percent said that they were going to school or taking a course at the time of the interview, while 6.5% reported being a homemaker. Only 4.3% of the respondents reported being self-employed and 1.8% said they had been accepted for a course and were waiting for it to start. One hundred and forty-one respondents (13.9%) were unemployed and not looking for work.

Table 3.18
Present employment status
(N=1012)

Response	Freq.	Percent
Looking for work (employed or unemployed)	383	37.8
Working for someone else	347	34.3
Going to school	132	13.0
Homemaker	66	6.5
Self-employed	44	4.3
Accepted for a course	18	1.8
Unemployed/not looking	141	13.9

Note: More than one response was possible.

These reports are somewhat ambiguous as they do not indicate directly the nature of involvement of the respondents in the work force at the time of the interviews. Furthermore, there were problems determining those who were gainfully employed, as a subset of those who were gainfully occupied. It may be assumed that total involvement in the work force will be indicated by self and other employment. These persons will have been working for some consideration, usually a salary or a wage. People who were homemakers comprise another category of gainful occupation, while people who were doing courses or taking training comprise yet another. In terms of societal norms, persons who were either working and earning money, or were being a homemaker, or were studying, comprise the full group of gainfully occupied persons.

Of the 1012 persons interviewed in January 1990, 630, or about 62%, indicated that they were unemployed at the time, in the sense that they were neither working for themselves, or for someone else. Of the 37.8% who reported being employed, 338 worked for someone else, 35 reported self-employment, and nine said that they were both self-employed, and other employed.

Sixty-six persons said that they were homemakers. None of these were self-employed, and seven reported employment outside the home. Going to school was the main employment of the 32 persons who reported this activity. Nineteen were employed by others, while one was self-employed in addition to their educational pursuits. One homemaker reported that she was both employed and going to school.

Most of the 383 persons who said they were looking for work were unemployed at the time. Only 26 persons who reported current employment were job hunting. There may have been a greater trend among the self-employed to be looking for other work, as 10 of the 35 self-employed persons were looking for work, compared to only 16 of the 338 employed.

The work force participation of the sample is taken to be the total of those employed in a job, and those not employed but looking for employment. The total number of employed persons was 382, and an additional 357 were unemployed but looking for work, for a grand total of 739. Thus, the rate of work force participation of the sample of 1012 was 73.0% . The unemployment rate would be based on the number of unemployed in the participating work force, and was calculated at 48.3% (see Table 3.19).

The preceding calculations were based on those who explicitly included themselves in the paid work force by stating either that they were working for pay, or were looking for work. One criticism of this method is that it excludes, by default, persons from the workforce because they are not actively seeking work, regardless of their intent. If the same statistics are calculated based on those explicitly excluding themselves from the workforce (the self-excluded participation and unemployment rates), a somewhat different picture emerges. The participation rate increases to 88.6% , and the unemployment rate rises to 57.4%

Table 3.19
Labour force participation of the early leavers
in January 1990
(N=1012)

Employment	Freq.	Percent
Employed by business, agency, etc.	338	33.4
Self Employed	35	3.5
Self Employed and by business	9	0.9
Total employed	382	37.8
Unemployed, looking for work	357	35.3
Work force participation	739	73.0
In education or training only	100	9.9
Unemployment rate		48.3
Accepted to school only	5	0.5
Homemaking only	32	3.2
Nonparticipants	115	11.4
No response	21	2.1

Note: The labour market participation rate was based on the total employed for pay, and those who said they were looking for employment. The self-excluded participation rate was based on those who stated that they were both unemployed, and were not seeking employment at the time.

Invariably, in a discussion of unemployment, interest focuses on the non-participants, those persons who have chosen not to seek employment. Forty-four of the 66 homemakers had opted out of the work force, although the other one third said that they were looking for work. The same was true for those in school; only 12 of 132 unemployed students were trying to find a job. Most would agree that both the homemakers and students were gainfully occupied, pursuing reasonable alternatives to involvement in the work force, though some further questions about the intensity of study, and the goals of the educational programs of study might be raised.

This leaves those who were nonparticipants at the time, and who were not involved in other immediately gainful activity. Eleven of 18 people who had been accepted into a course said that they were waiting to get in. The remainder said that they were looking for work or were working. It is interesting that 14 of the 66 homemakers also listed themselves as unemployed. A small number of people (five) placed themselves in the workforce even though they also said that they were unemployed and were not looking for work. In all, 115 persons, or 11.4% of the total sample of 1012 said that they were not either work force participants, or engaged in education or homemaking. However, this should be regarded as conservative. We have no information about the intensity of job search activity, which would be a way of determining those who were actively looking. Additionally, the 21 persons who did not respond to this question should also be seen as possible nonparticipants.

This procedure may have under-estimated somewhat the self-excluded participation rate, as only 28 of those persons who said they were unemployed and not looking for work stated that they did not want a job at that time. Eight of these were gainfully occupied as homemekers or students, so only 20 of all the unemployed actually asserted that they did not want to be gainfully occupied. It is, of course, not at all surprising that such a response was found, given the premium that is placed on being gainfully occupied, and some responses to this questions could have been rationalized. For example, only 117 of the 141 persons not looking for work (83%) gave some account of their reason for not doing so. This included ten who didn't know, and the 20 who just didn't want a job. Four said they had no money to look for work, 18 cited medical reasons, and 25 were looking after their children. Medical reasons and childcare are the only gainful reasons given. The remainder said either that they had a job lined up, or that they planned to take a course. These explanations could not be verified in other sections of the planned interviews. The data in the responses are inconsistent in some respects, so a conservatively optimistic estimate of the self-excluded participation would be that from 20 to 85 persons had excluded themselves from the work force, from 2.0 to 8.6% of those responding, for participation rates of 91.4 to 98%. The unemployment rate would be correspondingly higher than the earlier self excluded estimate of 57%; between 57.8 and 60.6%.

PERCEPTION OF READING AND MATH ABILITY

The level of basic literacy and numeracy is an important question in that it bears considerably on the ability of the early leavers to pursue programs of study, and qualify for employment at other than very basic, unskilled levels. The majority of the early leavers in the sample had completed at least grade nine; many had completed one or more years of high school. A conventional wisdom exists that the early leaver, nonetheless, may be characterized as a person with poor literacy and numeracy skills. The study had no way to measure these skills directly, but the perception of their literacy and numeracy levels would be an important factor governing the motivation of the early leavers to pursue upgrading.

In fact, most of the respondents felt that their reading and mathematics abilities were at least average, and many felt that they were good. Although about half felt that both their reading and math were at about the same level, the remainder rated one higher than the other. There may have been a tendency to rate mathematics as the lower ability, but while significant, the trend was small (see Table 3.20).

Table 3.20
Perception of ability in reading and math
(N=1012)

Perception	Reading		Math	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
No response	4	3.9	4	0.4
Good	474	46.8	320	31.6
Average	466	46.0	546	53.9
Poor	68	6.7	142	14.0

One difficulty in interpreting this information is that the basis used by the respondents to judge their ability cannot be known with certainty. In order to clarify this problem, they were also asked to state if math and reading had been problems for them on their jobs, when they were working. Very few, 5.3% , felt that they had problems on the job with their reading. This was related, though weakly, to their perception of their reading ability, suggesting that part of the basis for their perception was in terms of their actual level of use of reading skills on the job.

A few more people said they had trouble with their math on the job (7.4%). Again this was weakly, but significantly related to perception of ability in math. Only 30 people, 3.0% of the sample, said that they had problems with both math and reading on the job.

WORK HISTORY OF PARENTS

In an attempt to get a better understanding of the environment that was influencing the early leavers about the time of school leaving, they were asked to give a general description of the employment status of their parents during the two years preceding the decision to leave school. When asked this question about their father, 7.0% either did not know or did not respond. About 45% reported that their fathers were employed full-time; another 8.5% said their fathers had either passed away, were disabled or retired. During the time in question, 29.3% of the fathers were employed part-time. The remaining 9.4% were unemployed (see Table 3.21).

As might be expected, a different employment pattern was reported for the mothers. Interestingly, and in contrast to reports about the fathers, only 2.2% of the respondents did not know, or did not respond to this question. A total of 40.8% said that their mothers were full-time homemakers, and that an additional 26.3% were employed part-time. The respondents characterized 4.5% of their mothers as unemployed.

Table 3.21
Work of parents before the time of school leaving

Parent occupational status	Father (N=1012)		Mother (N=1012)	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Deceased	53	5.2	32	3.2
Employed full-time	457	45.2	229	22.6
Employed part-time	297	29.3	266	26.3
Unemployed	95	9.4	46	4.5
Unemployed, disabled	10	1.0		
Retired	24	2.3	4	0.3
Homemaker	6	0.6	413	40.8
Don't know	36	3.6	5	0.5
No response	34	3.4	17	1.7

Note: Question referred to the two years before school leaving

SUMMARY

The average age of the early school leavers at the time of the follow-up interview was 20.1 years. Most had left school 2.5 years previously, and about half had experienced two summer employment periods, while another half had experienced three. While most were still single, about 16% were in long-term relationships with another person. Twenty percent had children, though only 43% of those with children had partners.

Most of the respondents had financial responsibility only for themselves. The most important source of income in 1989 was salaries earned working for someone else or working for a company. For many, over 14%, income support programs of several types provided the principle income. For the large numbers reporting a second income source, Unemployment Insurance was the predominant second source. The median total income reported for 1989 was $8100. Men earned almost twice as much as women on average, and persons living outside the province at interview time enjoyed incomes double those of people residing in their home communities.

At interview time, two and one half years after leaving school, almost two-thirds of the early leavers were still living at home with their parents. There was a tendency for a larger proportion of the women to have moved outside the home, either to reside with their partners, or in other living arrangements.

About 45% of the respondents said that their fathers had worked full-time during the two years prior to their leaving school. Fewer of the mothers had been employed full-time, and over forty percent had been full-time homemakers.

Seventy three percent of the sample was participating in the work force at the time of the interview in January, 1990, with an unemployment rate of 48.3%. If the same calculations are based on those who excluded themselves from the work force by explicitly stating that they were not looking for work, the participation rate was almost 89%, and the unemployment rate was 57%. If the same statistics were estimated from those who did not want to work, and were not otherwise gainfully occupied at the time, the work force participation rate was between 91.4 and 98%, with an unemployment rate of as high as 60%.

Most of the interviewees reported that they had average or above average reading and math skills. Only a few said that they had problems with either reading or math while on the job.

SECTION FOUR

EMPLOYMENT PROFILE

Full employment is the general outcome desired by society for persons who have completed or interrupted their education. This truism would generally be applied to all individuals, acknowledging that sometimes unpaid work, as in homemaking, is viewed to be an acceptable alternative for some. This belief is being applied even more universally at this time than it has been in the past. Questions are being raised in some quarters about the legitimacy of homemaking careers, and unemployment of the physically and mentally disabled, the argument being that paid work is the real measure of social contributions. The great concern about early school leaving stems for the most part from its presumed impact on the employability of early school leavers, who are believed to be less able to compete in the labour market than can high school graduates.

This section explores the employment patterns found for our sample of early leavers from three different perspectives - the total employment since school leaving, a period as short as 18 months to over 30 months; employment during 1989; and, the nature of employment in their longest held jobs.

EMPLOYMENT SINCE SCHOOL LEAVING

Employment Category

During the interview the early leavers were asked about the jobs they held from July 1988, about the time of school leaving, to December 1989, immediately prior to the survey. Table 4.1 indicates that 470 early leavers (46.4%) reported they held at least one full-time job during this time frame a full-time job was one involving 30 or more hours of work each week. Another 20.3% had been employed part-time and 25.8% held both full-time and part-time jobs. Only 7.5% reported not working at all during this time period.

Table 4.1
Categories of employment from July 1988 to December 1989
(N=1012)

Type	Freq.	Percent
No work reported	76	7.5
Full-time work only	470	46.4
Part-time work only	205	20.3
Both Full-time and part-time work	261	25.8

Number of Full-time Jobs Held Since Leaving School

The number of jobs held was broken down by a count of full-time and part-time jobs. Of the 470 early leavers who reported having full-time employment since leaving school, 50.9% reported having held one full-time job; 30.2% held two full-time jobs and 12.3% reported having three full-time jobs. Thirty-one persons, or about 7%, reported having four or more full-time jobs (see Table 4.2)

Table 4.2
Number of jobs held from July 1988 to December 1989

Number of jobs	Full-time workers only (N=470)		Part-time workers only (N=205)		Combined full and part-time work Total jobs held (N=261)	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
1	239	50.9	84	41.0	--	---
2	142	30.2	63	30.7	76	29.1
3	58	12.3	27	13.2	70	26.8
4	20	7.3	15	7.3	48	18.4
5	5	1.1	10	4.9	23	8.8
Over 5	6	1.3	6	2.9	41	16.9

Number of Part-time Jobs Held since School Leaving

Two hundred and five respondents reported they held only part-time employment between July 1988 and December 1989 (see Table 4.2). Approximately 41% reported having one part-time job during this time. Another 31% reported having two part-time jobs, 13% had three part-time jobs and 7% said they had four part-time jobs. Eight percent had five or more part-time jobs.

Combined full and part-time work

A number of persons (261) reported they held both full and part-time work. Reference to table 4.2 shows that these persons tended to have had more jobs in total than either of the other two groups of full-time or part-time only workers. The typical person in this category reported holding at least three jobs since July 1988 compared to the single job typically reported by the person holding only full or part-time work.

Number of jobs held at the same time

The respondents were asked if they ever held two jobs at the same time. A total of 149 early leavers, or 14.7% , answered affirmatively. As Table 4.3 shows, 39.6% of these, 59 persons, said that they held two full-time jobs at the same time, 12.1% held two part-time jobs, and 48.3% held a full-time job and a part-time job at the same time.

Table 4.3
Working full-time, part-time/both, did you ever have two jobs at the same time?
(N=149)

Type	Freq.	Percent
Full-time	59	39.6
Part-time	18	12.1
Both full-time and part-time	72	48.3

Total weeks worked

As Table 4.4 shows, almost all those employed said that they had at least 20 weeks of work since July 1988. Only 16.3% reported less time. The respondents had been asked to estimate the total amount of time worked between July 1988, the approximate time of school leaving, and December 1989. The total number of weeks worked was calculated from these reports and varied from no time worked to over 150 weeks. Obviously, there was some over-reporting by at least 18% of those saying that they had worked as the time in question was only a period of 75 weeks.

The time since school leaving was a definite factor in the responses to this question. It may be that the responses reflected increasing seniority and experience in the workforce of those longest out of school, resulting in an increased job-holding potential. There was also the possibility that some people over-reported, based on their work since school leaving, rather than their work since July 1988. It is presumed that those giving high estimates may have included all the time since school leaving, and perhaps even time worked before the ostensible time of leaving. There was a small, but significant, relationship between the total time worked and the time since school leaving (r=0.08) that substantiates that this probably occurred in a few cases. However, in a different question, those longest out of school also reported about two weeks longer employment during 1989, giving some substance to the hypothesis that they had developed more job holding power.

It is therefore difficult to interpret the data. In a later section, the time employed in 1989 is discussed using data which are somewhat more reliable. In this section, which is trying to give a view of the long-term employment history of the early leavers, the figures should be viewed as optimistic estimates of the time worked since the summer of 1988. The actual amount of time worked, because of the over-reporting phenomenon, is likely to have been somewhat less on average. The estimates of median time worked, discussed later in this section, will probably be more accurate than the estimates of the upper extremes.

Only 5.3% of workers said they had worked less than 11 weeks during the 18 month period. There was an increase in the number employed in the 11-20th week category, peaking at 21-30 weeks, after which the percentage working longer became smaller. Those employed generally worked a median of 46.2 weeks during the period in question. In this question, 31 persons, about 3% of those who said that they worked during the period, did not report the total time worked. It was presumed in the analysis that the time reported would be representative of all those reporting work during the period.

Table 4.4
Total weeks worked between July 1988 and December 1989 by those reported working
(N=936)

Number of weeks worked	Freq.	Percent
1-10	50	5.3
11-20	103	11.0
21-30	175	18.7
31-40	101	10.8
41-50	68	7.3
51-60	136	14.5
61-70	49	5.2
71-80	108	11.5
81-90	26	2.8
91-100	11	1.1
More than 100	78	8.3
No weeks reported	31	3.3

Table 4.5
Median weeks worked between July 1988 and December 1989 for full and part-time workers

Work category	Freq.	Median weeks worked
Full-time only	456	48.4
Part-time only	197	26.3
Combined full and part-time	252	56.0
All workers	905	46.2

Note: 31 persons saying they had worked did not report the total time worked.

Median number of weeks worked

Table 4.5 shows the median number of weeks worked by full-time workers, part-time workers and those who held both full-time and part-time jobs between July 1988 and December 1989. The larger number of jobs held by those employed both full and part-time translated into a median of 56 weeks worked by this group during the 18 month period. This was significantly higher than those who were employed full-time only, who worked a median of 48.4 weeks during the same time. Those reporting only part-time work had a median of 26.3 weeks of employment.

EMPLOYMENT IN 1989

Level of employment

In order to help focus on information about the total amount of employment, and to get a picture of the pattern of employment throughout the year, the early leavers were asked to indicate their general level of employment in 1989. Eight hundred and fifty-one persons, or 84.1% of the sample, said they were employed in 1989. Each respondent indicated whether they had worked 1-2 weeks or 3-4 weeks during each month of the year (see Table 4.6). About 36% said they were employed for 3-4 weeks in January 1989; 39.6% worked for 3-4 weeks in March. The percentage employed for 3-4 weeks increased substantially by June (59.6%) and remained constant through July. Although there was a slight decline (1.6%) in August when 50% of the respondents reported working for 3-4 weeks through October 1989. The percentage of those employed for 1-2 weeks during each month, remained between 3.2% and 6.8% throughout the year, with the fewest employed during the winter.

Table 4.6
Employment by month in 1989
(N=1012)

	Employed 3-4 weeks		Employed 1-2 weeks	
Month	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
January	358	35.4	45	4.4
February	387	35.2	32	3.2
March	401	39.6	40	4.0
April	428	42.3	44	4.4
May	523	51.7	69	6.8
June	603	59.6	67	6.6
July	605	59.8	67	6.6
August	589	58.2	57	5.6
September	558	55.1	59	5.8
October	505	49.9	61	6.0
November	460	45.4	56	5.5
December	414	40.8	60	5.9

Note: 13.2% reported no work during 1989, and 2.7% did not respond.

Length of employment

The total length of employment in 1989 was estimated from this question by crediting those checking three to four weeks work with one full month's work. Those indicating that they had worked for one to two weeks were credited with one half of one months work. The totals calculated from these estimates likely overestimated the total amount worked. Using this method, the median total months worked by those who had jobs during 1989 was optimistically estimated to be 5.0 months. Approximately 26% of the sample had less than three months work, while about 30% reported more than eight months. A full 12 months of employment was reported by only 127 individuals or 12.5% of the sample.

General pattern of early leaver employment

This information provides a general overview of the general pattern of employment that an early leaver can expect a year after leaving school. Most early leavers will be employed at some time during the year. A small percentage will likely work only 1-2 weeks each month when they work. However, most persons will work for the full month for every month they are employed and will tend to work more months than those working 1-2 weeks.

Nature of 1989 employment

The nature of employment was also a factor in determining the total amount worked in 1989. Persons who had held only part-time employment since July 1988 worked significantly fewer months in 1989, in fact, a median of only 3.4 months. Persons who worked full-time only, or combined full and part-time work, all worked a median of about 5.5 months during the same period. The breakdown of total income for these groups is quite interesting. As might be expected, part-time only workers had a lower median 1989 income ($5964). The median income of full-time only workers was almost $4000 greater at $9951 for the year. Even though they reported as long a total length of employment as did the full-time only persons, those who combined full and part-time work managed a total median income of $8091, rather less than the full-time only workers.

PROFILE OF THE LONGEST HELD JOB

As the interview progressed, the respondents were asked to think about the job that they had held longest since leaving school. The purpose of this question was to provide a perspective on the experiences most likely to impact on the future direction of transition for the early leaver. A number of different questions could have been asked about the nature of employment, but the experiences of the respondents was predicted to be so varied, even in terms of the number of jobs held, that some focus had to be provided. Three hundred persons, or 32% of the sample, reported working at their longest held job at the time of the interview.

Most (94%) of the early leavers reported being employed by someone else in their longest job. Only 5% reported being self-employed. Eight percent said their longest held job was a "make-work project".

Description of the longest held jobs

The industrial sectors providing employment. Table 4.7 shows the various industries in which the early leavers were employed in during their longest held job. Several categories of food service and processing were the largest employers, with over 23% reported being employed in these industries. A breakdown of these indicated that about 12% were in food processing, which would include fish plant employees, as well as bakeries, dairy plants and the like, and approximately 11% were involved in either food service or retail industries. Another 9.6% worked in the health and social services industry. About 8% of the respondents reported working in the fishing industry as producers.

Types of jobs held. The specific jobs that the early leavers reported working in during their longest held job generally fell into low paying and unskilled categories. Approximately 3% named unrealistic jobs considering their educational background. In these cases, the problem could have been in the

Table 4.7
Type of industry/service of employment in the longest job
(N=936)

Industry/service	Freq.	Percent
Industry not reported	16	1.7
Agricultural	10	1.1
Fishing & trapping	72	7.7
Logging	9	1.0
Forestry	3	0.3
Mining	6	0.6
Crude petroleum & natural gas	1	0.1
Food Processing	111	11.9
Beverage	1	0.1
Rubber products	4	0.4
Plastic products	10	1.1
Leather & Allied Industries	4	0.4
Textile products	1	0.1
Clothing	9	1.0
Wood	7	0.7
Furniture & fixture	9	1.0
Paper & allied products	11	1.2
Printing, publishing & allied products	3	0.3
Primary metal	8	0.9
Fabricated metal	17	1.8
Machinery	1	0.1
Transportation	5	0.5
Electrical & Electronic	8	0.9

Table 4.7
Type of industry/service of employment in the longest job
(Continued)

Industry/service	Freq.	Percent
Non Metallic Mineral products	5	0.5
Chemical & chemical products	3	0.3
Other manufacturing	2	0.2
Building, developing & general contracting	56	6.0
Industrial & heavy Construction	7	0.7
Trade contracting	32	3.4
Service Industries incidental to construction	1	0.1
Transportation	26	2.8
Storage & warehousing	12	1.3
Communication	4	0.4
Farm products (wholesale)	1	0.1
Petroleum products (wholesale)	2	0.2
Food, beverage, drug, tobacco (wholesale)	8	0.9
Apparel & dry goods industries, (wholesale)	2	0.2
Metals, hardware, plumbing, building materials (wholesale)	5	0.5
Other products (wholesale)	2	0.2

Table 4.7
Type of industry/service of employment in the longest job
(Continued)

Industry/service	Freq.	Percent
food, beverage, drug (retail)	62	6.6
Shoe, fabric, apparel yarn (retail)	13	1.4
Household furniture, appliances (retail)	5	0.5
vehicles, parts & accessories, sales & services	42	4.5
General retail merchandising	31	3.3
other retail store	10	1.1
Non-store retail	2	0.2
Deposit accepting intermediary	2	0.2
Insurance	1	0.1
Other financial intermediary	1	0.1
Insurance & real estate	1	0.1
Business service	2	0.2
Fed. Gov't service	5	0.5
Provincial Gov't service	7	0.7
Local Gov't service	5	0.5
Educational service	6	0.6
health & social service	90	9.6
Accommodation service	16	1.7
Food & beverage service	42	4.5

Table 4.7
Type of industry/service of employment in the longest job
(Continued)

Industry/service	Freq.	Percent
Amusement & recreational service	5	0.5
Personal & household service	15	1.6
Other service	27	2.9
Not reported	4	0.4
Uncoded[a]	48	5.1

Note: [a]Some jobs could not be categorized to a specific industrial classification.

classification table, rather than in the work reported. Fish processing was an occupation named by 9.7% of the respondents, and about 8% worked in general labouring jobs. Another 7.2% were employed as babysitters and 6.7% worked as fisherman. About 6% were employed as sales clerks and factory/shipyard workers. Fewer respondents worked as gas station attendants, waiters/waitress', cashier/typists and construction workers (see Appendix A).

Location of the longest job. Over half of the early leavers (58.8%) said the location of the job was in or near their home community. About 14% said their longest held job was elsewhere in Newfoundland while 26.2% reported it was outside the province. When looking at the length of employment in the different locations there are a few differences. The number of weeks worked in the home community peaked at 10-20 weeks while those working elsewhere in the province or outside the province peaked at 20-30 weeks. Therefore, those respondents whose longest held job was in their home community tended to be employed for fewer weeks than those working elsewhere in the province or outside the province. It is of some interest to note that the proportion of long term jobs (longer than 70 weeks) was somewhat greater in Newfoundland than outside the province, and was 20% compared to 13% (see Table 4.8).

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Table 4.8
Length of jobs in different locations
(N=936)

Weeks	Home (N=550)		Elsewhere in Nfld (N=129)		Outside Nfld (N=245)	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
1-10	65	11.8	13	10.1	15	6.1
11-20	131	23.8	18	14.0	38	15.5
21-30	101	18.4	33	25.6	76	31.0
31-40	38	6.9	18	14.0	31	12.7
41-50	27	14.9	5	3.9	17	6.9
51-60	49	8.9	11	8.5	23	9.4
61-70	7	1.3	2	1.6	7	2.9
71-80	28	5.1	9	7.0	13	5.3
81-90	13	2.4	2	1.6	3	1.2
91-100	5	1.0	3	2.3	3	1.2
101-110	23	4.2	4	3.1	9	3.7
>110	41	7.5	8	6.2	4	1.6
Not reported	22	4.0	3	2.3	6	2.4

Duration and extent of the longest held jobs

Year started the longest job. Table 4.9 shows that 42.3% of the early leavers started their longest held job in 1988, while another 40.3% reported starting in 1989. Almost 11% said they started their longest job in 1987, and a small percentage (3.1%) reported starting their longest held job prior to that. In these instances the early leaver undoubtedly started the job while attending school and continued to work there after leaving school.

Table 4.9
Year started longest held job
(N=936)

Year	Freq.	Percent
Prior to 1987	29	3.1
1987	100	10.7
1988	396	42.3
1989	377	40.3
1990	12	1.3
Year not reported	22	2.4

Table 4.10
Season Started Longest Job
(N=936)

Season	Freq.	Percent
Spring (Mar., Apr., May)	212	22.6
Summer (June, July, Aug.)	333	35.6
Fall (Sept., Oct., Nov.)	218	23.3
Winter (Dec., Jan., Feb.)	129	13.8
Uncodeable	8	0.7
Month not reported	36	3.8

Season started longest job. Approximately 36% of the respondents reported starting their longest held job during the summer. About 23% started during the fall and another 22.6% began in the spring. Understandably, the winter was the slowest season for finding a relatively long term job, but obviously job hunting opportunities were not limited to the peak seasons. Another interesting finding was that there was no relationship between the time of year the longest job was found and the length of employment. In other words the best jobs (in terms of duration) were found at all times of the year (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.11
Number of weeks worked at the longest held job
(N=1012)

Weeks	Freq.	Percent
1-10	94	10.0
11-20	188	20.1
21-30	211	22.5
31-40	89	9.5
41-50	49	5.2
51-60	83	8.9
61-70	15	1.6
71-80	51	5.5
81-90	18	1.9
91-100	11	1.2
101-110	38	4.1
over 110	56	6.0
Weeks not reported	33	3.5

Note: Median=30.4 weeks

Number of weeks worked in the longest job. The respondents were asked to give the total length of time worked in their longest held job. Their responses were converted into weeks based on a calculation of the total calendar days worked, including holidays and weekends, up to the time of the interview. As Table 4.11 indicates, most of those who worked (936) were employed at least 11 weeks in their longest job. The median job length was 30.4 weeks. Therefore, half of the respondents who worked had a longest job that was shorter than seven months in length. Many had worked at jobs that were longer than this, however, with almost 18.7% reporting they had held jobs for 70 or more weeks. About 60% of the 174 persons who reported these long term jobs were in the jobs at the time of the interview. About 10% of the sample of 1012 could therefore be regarded to be in stable, long-term employment. For many of the early leavers, however, a long term job tends very much to be short-term by other standards.

Number of hours worked at longest job. The early leavers were also asked how many hours they worked on average each week in their longest held job (see Table 4.12). The median work week was reported to be 38.5 hours. Of those who reported working, most (86.4%) worked more than 30 hours per week, indicating that their longest held job was usually full-time work. Four hundred and seventy-two persons (50.4%) said they worked between 31-40 hours a week, which is normally considered a standard work week. The number employed for more than 50 hours per week decreased significantly with only a small percentage reporting working more than 80 hours per week. A work week of this intensity could be possible in some seasonal jobs where there are high levels of overtime work required.

Table 4.12
Number of hours worked each per week on longest held job
(N=936)

Number of hours	Freq.	Percent
1-10	12	1.3
11-20	29	3.1
21-30	66	7.1
31-40	472	50.4
41-50	186	19.9
51-60	77	8.2
61-70	35	3.7
71-80	19	2.0
Over 80	21	2.2
Hours not reported	10	1.1
No response	9	1.0

Note: Median=38.5 hours

About 11% of those working at their longest held job reported working less than 30 hours a week. When the longest job was less than 30 hours a week, it also tended to be of shorter duration than when the job was more than 30 hours a week. The median length of the standard time jobs was 29.8 weeks in duration, compared to the nonstandard jobs, which had a median duration of 24.4 weeks. Those respondents who had full-time employment status as their longest held job tended to work significantly longer than those employed part-time (see Table 4.13).

Table 4.13
Median duration of the longest job

	Freq.	Median Length of job
Part-time (less than 30 hrs/week)	117	24.4 weeks
Full-time (more than 30hrs/week)	810	29.8 weeks
All jobs	827	29.2 weeks

Comparison of full-time/part-time jobs

Classification of jobs . Those respondents who held a part-time job as their longest job tended to work more in the area of baby-sitting, fishing and fish processing and as retail sales clerks in supermarkets (see Table 4.14). Those employed full-time had a higher percentage in assembling/repairing and other related occupations, as well as transportation occupations. In addition, full-time workers also had as high a participation as the part-time workers in other occupations.

General Educational Development(GED) and Specific Vocational Training(SVP). There was no difference in the GED levels required of the part-time and full-time workers with an average GED of about two necessary for their jobs. This would require them typically to be able to "follow detailed but uninvolved written and oral instructions ... and deal with problems ... in

Table 4.14
Occupational classification of longest jobs of less than 30 hours per week
(N=88)

CCDO	Job Title	Freq.	Percent
[illegible]	Meteorologist	1	1.1
23[illegible]1	Probation officer	1	1.1
2700	Teacher's aide	1	1.1
2731	Daycare worker assistant	1	1.1
3139	Home Care worker	1	1.1
4133	Cashier	2	2.3
4143	Computer Operator	1	1.1
4155	Inventory clerk	2	2.3
4171	Office worker	1	1.1
4177	Delivery person	2	2.3
5133	Sales Rep.	1	1.1
5137	Retail clerk	11	12.5
5145	Gas bar attendant	3	3.4
6117	Militia	1	1.1
6123	Bartender	1	1.1
6125	Fast food/waiter/waitress	5	5.7
6142	Domestic	1	1.1
6147	Babysitter	14	15.9
6191	Janitor	2	2.3
6198	Vehicle Cleaner	1	1.1
7195	Landscape worker	1	1.1
7198	Farm hand	2	2.3
7313	Fisherman	6	6.8
7513	Logging	1	1.1
8213	Baker's helper	2	2.3
8217	Fish cleaner/cutter	8	9.1
8598	Factory labourer	1	1.1
8785	Painter	1	1.1
8798	Construction Labourer	1	1.1
9159	Light house keeper	1	1.1
9315	Forklift operator	1	1.1
9318	Material handling	3	3.4
9918	General labourer	5	5.7

Note: CCDO= Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations (job classification number given).

standardized situations" (Employment & Immigration Canada, 1987:391). However, there was a difference in the specific occupational training (SVP)

Table 4.15
How did you hear about the job?
(N=936)

Source	Freq.	Percent
Friends/relatives knew employer or worked at job	466	49.8
Made enquiries of people in the community	101	10.8
Community news	69	7.4
Newspaper	66	7.1
Was approached by employer	67	7.2
Made enquiries by telephone or letter	57	6.1
Canada Employment and Immigration Centre	35	3.7
Radio announcement	20	2.1
School counsellor	13	1.4
Social Services	11	1.2
Outreach worker	2	0.2
No source reported	29	3.1

required for full and part-time jobs. The persons in the part-time category had jobs with an average SVP level of 2.7, involving short demonstrations, up to 30 days of training and relevant experience. This was compared to the average SVP of 3.2 required by the jobs of the full-time workers which involved somewhat more training time, possibly up to three months.

Search for the longest job. The early leavers were asked where they heard about the job (see Table 4.15). Three-quarters of the respondents got knowledge of their longest job through interaction with their social network. A large number of early leavers (49.8%) said they heard about the job through friends or relatives who knew the employer or worked at the job site. About 11% said they inquired about work through people in the community. Another 7.4% heard about the job through community news (e.g. everyone in the community knew there would be work at a plant), and another 7.1% were approached by the employer. A mere 3.7% got their longest job through the Canada Employment Centres. The majority of early leavers (80%) were not working at the time they applied for the job.

Main reason for getting the job

The respondents were asked what they thought was the main reason they got their longest job (see Table 4.16). Of those who reported employment, 277 (30.0%) reported the main reason for getting the job was because the employer knew them. Another 22.2% said it was because they were there at the right time, and 16.7% stated the main reason was because they made a good impression during the interview. Approximately 12% said it was because there were lots of jobs to be had. Only 13.3% felt that their experience or training had anything to do with it.

Training for the longest job

Over half (62.5%) said they learned the work by someone showing them how to do it (see Table 4.17). A total of 40.1% reported that they had learned on their own. About 15% of the sample gave both of these answers, which may give an indication of their assessment of the help offered to them on the jobsite. Only 11.5% said there was a short training course offered at work. Twenty-seven persons said that their short course was supplemented by on-the-job assistance.

Table 4.16
Perceptions of the main reason for getting the job
(N=936)

Response	Freq.	Percent
Known by employer	277	30.0
There at the right time	208	22.2
Made a good impression at the interview	156	16.7
There were lots of jobs	116	12.4
Had the right experience	83	8.9
Had the right training	41	4.4
Other (persistence, nobody else would take it)	14	1.5
Family connections	8	0.8
No reason reported	33	3.5

EMPLOYMENT PROFILE SUMMARY

Almost all of the sample of 1012 reported having worked in at least one full-time or part-time job between July 1988 and December 1989, which would cover the period since all had left school and the conduct of the survey. This would also included two summer peak employment periods. A small, but significant proportion of about 20% had only part time work during that period,

Table 4.17
How did you learn how to do the work?
(N=936)

Response	Freq.	Percent
Someone on the job showed me	585	62.5
Learned how to do it myself	375	40.1
Short training course offered	108	11.5
Took a course geared to the job at school	43	4.6

Note: More than one response to this question was possible.

while another 26% put together a medley of part and full-time employment in order to achieve an estimated median total of about 46 weeks of work, if they worked at all during this time. This estimate is believed to be somewhat inflated. At most, about 10% of the sample had achieved stable, long-term employment.

About 84% of the sample said that they had worked at some time during 1989. As expected, summer was the peak employment period with close to 60% employed at that time. Employment levels were considerably lower in the winter at about 35%. The median length of employment during the year was probably less than five months, with only 12.5% reporting employment for the full year.

More specific information about the work experience of the early leavers was found in questions about the job that they had held for the longest period of time. The food service and processing industries were the largest employers, employing a total of 23% in these jobs. The fishing industry employed another 8%. A substantial number were employed as babysitters, or as general manual labourers. Almost all the jobs were unskilled, requiring a minimum of training and preparation.

Over half of the respondents worked near their home community in jobs which lasted less than 20 weeks. The longest lasting jobs were held by the one-quarter who worked outside the Province of Newfoundland. Many of the long-lasting jobs were found in the summer, although they were found in large numbers at other times of the year as well. Most of the jobs were located through the local social network, which the early leavers also most often credited as the main reason they were actually hired.

SECTION FIVE

EDUCATIONAL PROFILE

This section of the report provides information about the educational endeavors of the respondents since their decision to leave public school. Two different kinds of education were of interest. The first, called "upgrading" in this report, concerned education of a compensatory nature, in that the participant was attempting to achieve improvement in basic literacy or numeracy, or attain a high school diploma or equivalency. The second, called "training and further education" in this report, comprised those educational experiences that were skill and occupationally oriented, or addressed education at a post-secondary level.

UPGRADING

Upgrading focuses on the basic education of people, in particular, their literacy and numeracy. One of its goals is the attainment of high school equivalency, although many in basic literacy programs do not have that as a goal. They may be more interested in meeting the educational requirements found in their workplace or in special skills training programs.

Three programs are operated by the Province of Newfoundland for the purpose of public school upgrading. First, dropouts can choose to return to public school and take up their education where they left off. This leads to high school graduation and a diploma. High school equivalency can also be earned by passing the examination for general educational development (GED). The third program, Adult Basic Education (ABE), is offered at three levels which provide training in basic literacy and numeracy through regular high school courses that are generally offered in the evening. If pursued to its completion, this program can also result in the award of a high school diploma.

A fourth program often referred to by early leavers is the Basic Training and Skill Development (BTSD). This is a federal program to help develop literacy and numeracy skills, with certificates awarded upon completion of its various levels.

Participation in upgrading programs

The respondents were asked about their participation, if any, in all four of these upgrading modalities. As some respondents clearly could not distinguish the ABE program from the BTSD program, they were asked to indicate their participation in either. In total, 226 respondents, 22.3% of the sample, reported taking some form of upgrading since they left school (see Table 5.1). Some of the respondents (31) said that they had participated in more than one of the programs. Fifteen of these had participated both in ABE and high school programs.

Completion of upgrading programs

Of the 80 respondents who went back to high school, 24 (30.0%) said they had received a diploma at the time of the interview. About 25% of those who took the adult basic education program received a high school equivalency certificate;

Table 5.1
Participation reported in upgrading programs to January 1990
(N=226)

	Programs				
	High school	G.E.D.	A.B.E.	B.T.S.D.	Total
Number participating	80	48	95	35	226[a]
Percent of total sample (N=1012)	7.9	4.7	9.3	3.4	22.3
Percent of those in upgrading (N=226)	31.0	18.6	36.8	13.6	---
Number completing program	24	12	23	6	65
Number living in home community	65	31	62	20	---

Note: [a]Thirty one persons participated in more than one program

23 or 47.9% of those taking the G.E.D. program received a certificate; and 26% received a certificate from the B.T.S.D. In total, then, only 65 (28.8%) of the 226 involved in upgrading completed their program.

Reasons for upgrading

The early leavers were asked if one or more of several reasons had led to their participation in the various programs (see Table 5.2). Among those who did upgrading, the most common response, given by 68.1% of the respondents, was simply that they wanted to take the course. They also indicated other reasons as well. About 22% said upgrading was needed for work, and 54 persons (23.9%) took upgrading because it was needed to qualify for a course. Finally, 20.8% reported taking the course because it was suggested by a counsellor, parent or friend. Thus, 46% of those who had been in upgrading programs reported instrumental motivation for upgrading. They saw upgrading as a means to achieve other work or educational goals.

Table 5.2
Reasons for upgrading
(N=226)

Reason	Freq.	Percent
Wanted the course	154	68.1
Needed the course for work	50	22.1
Needed for another course/program	54	23.9
Suggested by a counsellor, parent, friend	47	20.8

Residence when upgrading

One hundred and sixty three of the early leavers (72.1%) reported living in their home community while doing the upgrading program. In general, more of those attending high school did this than did those who participated in other upgrading programs.

TRAINING AND FURTHER EDUCATION

Training and further education was distinguished by participation in formal programs which developed occupational skills, or were in connection with other post-secondary programs. Some programs were directed at the development of job search and job readiness. The early leavers were asked about courses/programs, other than upgrading, that they may have taken since leaving school.

Participation in courses/programs

Two hundred and twenty-four, 22% of the full sample, reported taking a course/program between July 1988 and December 1989. Most (78.1%) said that they took a single course. Approximately 12% said they took two courses/programs during this time frame (see Table 5.3), while 6.2% reported taking more than two. Most (71%) of the courses were reported to be job related. Of the 224 respondents, 73 or 28.8% had also taken an upgrading program. This later group was of interest as they were taking a range of programs from job readiness to a variety of pre-employment programs, though not in large numbers.

Table 5.3
Number of courses taken between July 1988 and December 1989
(N=224)

Number of courses	Freq.	Percent
1	175	78.1
2	28	12.5
More than 2	14	6.2
Number not reported	7	3.1

Employer Training

About 28% of all the respondents who had worked said that one of their employers had given formal training to improve their work skills. Eleven percent said that this had happened in their longest job. Workers who received formal training in the workplace had an average 1989 salary that was almost $2500 greater than those that did not. This salary differential is accounted for, in part, by the fact that those receiving employer provided training also worked an average of four weeks longer that year (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4
Average weeks worked and income of persons receiving employer provided training compared to those not receiving training

Category of employer provided training	Months worked		Total Income ($)	
	Freq.	Mean	Freq.	Mean
No employer training	658	5.5	538	9600
Employer training	278	6.7	238	12047
Total	936	5.8	776	10350

PROFILE OF THE LONGEST PROGRAM/COURSE

The respondents had had a variety of experiences in their further education and training. In order to gain insight into the experiences that would likely have been most influential in their development since leaving high school, they were asked about the longest experience that they had had.

Length of the training program

Many of the courses reported had been taken over an extended period of time. 55.1% of those who said that they had taken courses were either in courses or had completed courses that were over 25 weeks long. Only 15.5% reported that their longest courses were ten weeks or less (see Table 5.5).

The courses and programs that were described tended to be very intense, amounting to full time instruction of over 25 hours per week in over 65% of the cases. By and large, people who took courses said that they did not work while taking the course. Only 23.1 % said that they were employed. There was no indication that there was higher employment among those involved in the less intensive programs.

Table 5.5
Length of the longest program or course contrasted to state of completion

Length of program	Completed		In progress		Terminated early		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
No information	5	4.2	5	8.2	1	3.6	27	12.0
1 day to 5 weeks	12	10.2	0	0.0	2	7.1	14	6.2
6 to 10 weeks	14	11.8	5	8.2	2	7.1	21	9.3
11 to 15 weeks	6	5.0	6	4.9	1	3.6	10	4.4
16 to 20 weeks	12	10.1	6	4.9	4	14.3	20	8.9
21 to 25 weeks	2	1.7	6	4.9	3	10.7	8	3.6
26 to 30 weeks	9	7.6	4	6.6	3	107	16	7.1
31 to 35 weeks	11	9.2	0	0.0	1	3.6	12	5.3
36 to 40 weeks	27	22.7	23	37.7	4	14.3	54	24.0
More than 40 weeks	21	17.6	15	26.6	7	25.0	43	19.1
Total in category	119	52.9	61	27.1	28	12.4	225	100.0

The institution providing training

Table 5.6 shows the institutions attended by the early leavers while taking their longest course. About 44% of those taking courses said their longest program was taken at a community college. Another 11.1% said they attended Cabot Institute. Twenty-four persons (10.7%) reported attending some other public institution in the province, 9.3% went to a private school and 6.2% attended an institution outside the province. Another 4.0% took a course at a company/business (e.g. apprenticeship), 1.8% attended the Marine Institute and 2% took a course at high school. Approximately 1% went to Fisher Institute and 1% reported attending Memorial University. Just over half, 55%, lived at home while attending these institutions.

Table 5.6
Where did you take the course?
(N= 225)

Institution/Training Place	Freq.	Percent
Community College	99	44.0
Cabot Institute	25	11.1
Other institution in province	24	10.7
Private Training School	21	9.3
Other institution outside province	14	6.2
Company/business (apprenticeship)	9	4.0
Marine Institute	5	2.2
High School	4	1.8
Fisher Institute	3	1.3
Memorial University	3	1.3
Other	18	8.1

Type of program/course

Table 5.7 shows the general categories of the courses or programs that were taken as the longest program. The categories were created from the first two digits of the Newfoundland Department of Education program codes. Of the 225 taking courses, almost 25% took courses in the general category of mechanics and engineering. These were in a variety of specialty areas, and at several different levels. Another 9.3% were enroled in job readiness programs. Eight percent took a clerical course. Over 5% took a beauty culture course and 4.4% took a computer course.

A few of the respondents had made considerable educational progress since leaving school. Five reported that their longest program had been an apprenticeship, implying the completion of one phase of a pre-employment program. The variety of programs that were taken was striking, with 115 different programs named by the 195 persons who actually named a program. Thirty of the 225 saying that they had participated in training or education failed to name a program, although 14 of these provided other details about their training.

Identifying the training opportunity

The early leavers were asked how they had learned about their longest course. Twenty percent cited the Canada Employment Centre (CEIC) as their main source of information, while 18.7% said that their friends told them about the opportunity (see Table 5.8). Another 17.8% learned of the course through the media, while 15.1% reported a high school counsellor or teacher as the main source. Approximately 6% were sent by the company for which they worked, and the same percentage said that their parents gave them the information. Another 5.3% reported post-secondary institutions. Only two persons said that they learned of the course through the Career Information Hot Line.

Table 5.7
Education/training programs taken by early leavers between July 1988 and December 1989
(N=225)

Program	Freq.	Percent
Mechanics/Engineering	55	24.4
Job development projects	21	9.3
Clerk/business/secretarial	17	7.6
Beauty culture	12	5.3
Accounting/management	10	4.4
Computing	10	4.4
Tourism/hospitality/food service	10	4.4
Homecare worker/early childhood development training	8	3.6
Transportation operations	6	2.7
Electronics/Electronic engineering technology	6	2.7
Marketing/fashion merchandising	4	1.8
Crafts/fine arts	4	1.8
Travel & tourism/counsellor	3	1.3
Education/Counselling services	3	1.3
Fishing/forestry technology	3	1.3
Agriculture	3	1.3
Protective services	2	0.9
Marine cooking	2	0.9
Dietary technology	1	0.4
Apprenticeship	5	2.2
Other	10	4.4
No response	30	13.3

Table 5.8
Source of information about the longest educational program attended (N=225)

Response	Freq.	Percent
CEIC	45	20.0
Friends	42	18.7
Media	40	17.8
High school counsellor, teacher, principal	34	15.1
Sent by employer	13	5.8
Parents	13	5.8
Post-secondary institutions	12	5.3
Career Information Hot line	2	1.0
Not reported	24	10.7

Reasons for pursuing the training

The most common reason for taking the longest course, given by 141 persons was for interest. That was 55.3% of those taking courses. That the course was career related was a reason given by 43.5%, and 21.6% said the reason for taking the course was job related. Forty-eight (18.8%) said they received pay while doing the course (see Table 5.9).

A number of the respondents indicated that they had more than one reason for taking their course. As Table 5.10 shows, 89 respondents (39.6%) gave one reason for taking the course and 40.4% gave two reasons; only 9.8% gave three reasons and a small percentage (1.2%) gave all four reasons. Among the respondents who gave only one response, the most predominant reason, given by 42.7%, was interest (see Table 5.9). Interest, however, was not the predominant reason for taking the courses as only 38 persons, 16.9% of those taking courses,

Table 5.9
Reasons for taking the longest course

Reason	All taking courses (N=225)		All giving one reason (N=89)	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Interest	141	64.7	38	42.7
Career related	111	49.3	28	31.5
Job related	55	24.4	16	18.0
Paid while taking course	48	21.3	7	7.9
No response	18	8.0	--	---

Note: More than one response possible.

Table 5.10
Number of reasons given for taking the course
(N=225)

Number of reasons	Freq.	Percent
1	89	39.6
2	91	40.4
3	24	10.7
4	3	1.3
Response not reported	18	8.0

said that interest was their only reason. The remainder may also have said that they were interested in the course, but they also had other reasons that were related to their career or livelihood at the time.

Program Completion

Of the 225 persons who took a course, almost 53% reported that they had completed, with 43.1% receiving a certificate of some type (see Table 5.11). Another 10% completed the program without receiving a certificate. Sixty-one (27.1%) of those responding said they were still in the course, and 12.4% had terminated their program before it was finished.

Table 5.11
Completion of education/training programs
(N=225)

Response	Freq	Percent
Completed with certificate	97	43.1
Completed without certificate	22	9.8
Did not finish	28	12.4
Still in program	61	27.1
No response	17	7.6

Employment outcomes of training

At the time of the interview, some of the people who had taken courses reported that taking their longest course had paid off in terms of their employment. Thirty-four percent of the respondents said they got a job related to the course they took. Fifty two percent said that they worked while taking the course. It is interesting that only those saying that they took the course because it was related to their present job also had relative success in getting employment related to their education. In contrast, those saying that they took the course because they were paid while doing it failed to note a more positive employment outcome than those who did not give this as a reason.

SUMMARY OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROFILE

About 23% of the sample of 1012 reported that they had participated in some form of academic upgrading since their decision to leave school. These programs were intended to improve basic literacy and numeracy, or lead to a high school diploma. A few of these had actually returned to high school. Fifty-nine persons, about 5.8% of the sample, reported receiving a high school diploma or equivalency. While most of those in upgrading said that they wanted to do it for personal reasons, almost half also were interested in qualifying for work or for other training programs. By and large, persons in upgrading programs did them in or near their home community.

Two hundred and twenty five persons, including 73 of those who had taken upgrading, reported that they had taken at least one training or educational course since July, 1988. These courses gave specific skills, or further, post-secondary, training to the participants. A number of workers had also received formal training in the work place. Holders of these jobs were generally employed longer, and had a larger income in 1989.

While several of the early leavers reported involvement in more than one such program, the majority had taken only one, which for most was at least six months or more in duration, and involved full-time study in excess of 25 hours a week. The community college system was the location of just under half of the programs, with a fair number also attending Cabot Institute. Unlike the upgrading programs, where the majority of the students lived at home, only a little over half of the students lived at home while taking their training or educational program.

The respondents pursued study in 115 different areas. About 25% were involved in mechanics and engineering of one sort or another. A large number became involved in job readiness programs, and a significant proportion undertook programs in the beauty culture and clerical areas. They found out about the programs in a variety of ways, and in general depended on institutional structures such as the Canada Employment Centres, high school counsellors, and post-secondary institutions.

While most said that they took their course out of interest, the majority also had reasons that were career and employment related. Of the 225 persons who had undertaken training, 27% were still in their longest program at the time of the interview. Fifty three percent reported they had successfully completed the program. A substantial number of those taking courses said that the effort resulted in employment of some kind for them.

SECTION SIX

SEARCH

In this survey the perspective on search activities shifted from an emphasis on discovering the level of sophistication of knowledge about search, to the ways that the early leavers perceived the actual process of finding work, or identifying educational and training opportunities. In particular, statements about problems encountered could be related to the success of the process for them, immediately targeting programming.

JOB SEARCH

In the initial survey, one conclusion was that the early leavers would tend to rely on local knowledge to learn of job opportunities, and would avail primarily of personal contact to actually obtain the job. They might invoke the offices of an intermediary to smooth the way, but their actual knowledge of other ways to engage in the process was very restricted.

In the second survey, the early leavers were asked about several problems or barriers associated with finding jobs (see Table 6.1) and if any applied to them. About 10% said that they did not encounter any of the problems that were listed. The remainder listed at least one, and almost 50% listed four or more. Only two persons reported that all eight on the list were applicable to them (see Table 6.2). This is understandable considering one of the barriers listed concerned having a disability.

Some of the barriers that were reported were as follows: not having enough experience was reported by 68.2%; the scarcity of jobs was cited by 67.5%; and 62.3% said that it was a problem to find a job they liked. Although 48.7% of early leavers reported their failure to finish high school was a problem in finding work, an equal percentage (49%) said that it was not. Forty-five percent of the respondents described not having money to travel to look for work as a problem. In contrast, only 25.9% of the early leavers were concerned about knowing how to look for a job, and 13.1% said their age (being too young) was a problem in finding a job.

Table 6.1
Problems in finding jobs
(N=1012)

Problem	Freq.	Percent
Not having enough experience	690	68.2
Scarcity of jobs	683	67.5
Finding a job one liked	630	62.3
Not finishing high school	493	48.7
Finding money to travel to look for work	455	45.0
Knowing how to look for a job	262	25.9
Being too young	133	13.1
Having a disability	61	6.0

Note: More than one response recorded.

Table 6.2
Number of problems encountered in job search
(N=1012)

Number of problems reported	Freq.	Percent
0	105	10.4
1	87	8.6
2	125	12.4
3	166	16.4
4	199	19.7
5	181	17.9
6	108	10.7
7	32	3.2
8	2	0.2
Not computed	7	0.7

Job search problems, and their relationship to total employment in 1989

Total employment in 1989 correlated negatively, and significantly with the job search problems perceived by the early leavers. First, the intensity of job search problems was an obvious factor. The correlation between the number of problems perceived and total length of employment was -0.33. While there are obviously other factors accounting for employment, this makes it clear that as the number of search problems perceived grew greater, the term of total employment in 1989 grew shorter. Persons with none or only one problem worked an average of 7.7 months during the year; persons with four or more perceived problems worked an average of 5.5 months. Those with seven problems worked an average of only 3.0 months (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3
The relationship of total employment in 1989 and the perception of job search problems

Problem area	Total		Have Problem		Without Problem	
	Freq.	r	Freq.	Average months worked	Freq.	Average months worked
Total number of problems*	1005	-0.33	529	4.6	476	6.4
Finding a job to like*	1002	-0.25	630	4.7	372	6.7
Knowing how to look for a job*	1004	-0.14	262	4.6	742	5.8
Having a disability*	1006	-0.11	61	3.7	945	5.6
Being too young	1002	-0.01	133	5.4	869	5.5
Getting money for job search*	1000	-0.24	455	4.4	545	6.3
Lack of experience*	996	-0.13	690	5.1	306	6.3
Incomplete high school*	992	-0.22	493	4.6	499	6.3
Low availability of jobs*	1000	-0.30	683	4.7	317	7.2

Note: *Differences significant at .05 level of confidence.

When examined on the basis of specific problem areas, it is apparent that the total time employed in 1989 related significantly to all but one problem, that of being too young. The correlation of this problem with total time employed was

-0.01. Whether or not one perceived this to be a problem, the average time worked during the year was about 5.5 months.

The perception that jobs were not available was most highly related of all the problems to the total length of employment. Persons perceiving this to be a problem worked an average of 4.7 months. In contrast, those who did not hold this belief worked an average of 7.2 months. Other problems having a relatively high relationship to the length of employment were the difficulty in finding a job that one could like, getting money to finance the job search, and the lack of a high school diploma.

Knowing how to look for a job was not perceived as problematic by the majority of people. When compared to several of the other problems in the list, this problem was significantly, but not strongly related to the total length of employment. The correlation of the problem with length of employment was -0.14; the average length of employment of those with the problem was 4.6 months compared to 5.8 months for those who did not perceive this to be a problem.

Reasons for not looking for work

The 141 respondents, or 13.9% of the sample, who said that they were both unemployed and not looking for work were asked to give their reasons for this; in some cases multiple responses were given. As Table 6.4 indicates, the most common reason, given by 47.5% of those in this category, was that they already had a job lined up. While 44.7% said they planned to take a course, 32.6% reported there were no jobs available, and 31.2% said they did not want a job. Forty-two early leavers (29.8%) said the reason for being unemployed and not looking for work was because they had to stay home and look after their children.

Table 6.4
Reasons for being unemployed and not looking for work
(N=141)

Response	Freq.	Percent
Have a job lined up	67	47.5
Plan to take a course/return to school	63	44.7
No jobs available	46	32.6
Don't want a job	44	31.2
Have to stay home-have children	42	29.8
Medical problem	21	14.9
No money to look/travel	11	7.8
Don't know	16	11.3

Note: More than one response given.

Those who said that they didn't want a job were of some interest. Most of these respondents gave other reasons for not looking for work in addition to not wanting a job. Four of the people had previously listed themselves as homemakers. An additional four were people who said that they had to look after their children. A number also said that they had a job lined up, or that they were planning to attend a course.

Effect of dependent children on employment.

As previously mentioned in the report, 215 respondents, or 21.2% of the total sample reported having children. Of the 215, 59.5% said that looking after their children was their main job. Later on in the interview, the early leavers were asked if child care had an effect on obtaining employment and 56 or 26% said child care was a barrier in looking for employment. However, only 29 or 13.5% reported that child care prevented them from taking a job (see Table 6.5). When looking at marital status in conjunction with this, married persons were more likely to report child care as a barrier in obtaining employment and taking a job than single respondents responsible for children.

Table 6.5
Child care responsibilities as a barrier to job search and employment

Barrier to search	Barrier to employment				Row Totals	
	No		Yes			
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
No	155	72.1	4	1.9	159	74.0
Yes	31	14.4	25	11.6	56	26.0
Column Total	186	86.5	29	13.5	215	100.0

KNOWLEDGE AND PERCEPTION OF THE LABOUR MARKET

During the interview, the early leavers were asked several questions pertaining to their own perceptions of the labour market. The way that the respondents viewed the labour market, for example, their beliefs about the work that was available and how best to seek employment, was likely to have played a significant role in directing their job search activities. The respondents were asked about their perception of the availability of jobs in their own communities (see Table 6.6). About 56% of the early leavers said that there were few jobs available there. Another 39.1% said there were no jobs; only 3.5% said that there were many jobs available. Furthermore, 58.8% of the early leavers said they didn't think there would be more jobs available in the community in which they were living over the next couple of years.

Table 6.6
Are there jobs in your home community?
(N=1012)

Response	Freq.	Percent
A few jobs	571	56.4
No jobs	396	39.1
Many jobs	35	3.5
No response	10	1.0

An interesting finding was that the perception of job availability at home was more positive among those in their home communities than those who were away from their home communities at the time of the survey. Respondents living outside Newfoundland were least confident of all that there were even a few jobs available back home. Those who had moved from home, but remained in Newfoundland were somewhat more positive about the availability of work back home, but they were still less confident than those who remained in their community.

Some further observations about the opinions of the respondents can be made. Two hundred and fifty-two (24.9%) said that working before leaving high school was helpful in obtaining work after leaving school. The early leavers were also asked if they thought taking courses would help them get a job; 90.4% answered affirmatively. About 37% reported applying for a job while being employed. This was interesting, because earlier in the interview, only 5.9% of persons reporting that they were employed also said that they were currently looking for work.

EDUCATIONAL SEARCH

This section addresses the issue of search for educational programs, and the problems encountered in that search. Two hundred of the respondents reported that they had participated in some form of public school upgrading program since their decision to leave school. Fifty-seven of these were among the 225 persons who said that they had taken a further training or educational course of some sort. In all, 36.3% of the sample said that they had been involved in education and training over the one and one-half years prior to the follow-up survey. We have assumed that upgrading courses of one sort or another are universally available; for example, people always have the option of returning to public school. It isn't quite as simple as that, of course, but for upgrading programs like the GED, BTSD and ABE programs, in addition to public school itself, the more important questions revolve around the problems associated with taking these courses, and the motivation that there is to take them. Further training and upgrading is different in that opportunities for this must be identified and sought out in different ways than for upgrading, and this is a process that doesn't always lead to successful placement in a program.

Table 6.7
Participation in further education and unsuccessful applications

Number of failed applic.	No response		Yes		No		Row total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
0	72	7.1	194	19.2	688	68.0	954	94.3
1	1	0.1	26	2.6	21	2.1	48	4.7
2	0	0.0	4	0.4	2	0.2	6	0.6
3 or more	0	0.0	1	0.1	3	0.3	2	0.2
Column total	73	7.2	225	22.2	714	70.6	1012	100.0

A total of 248 persons, 24.5% of the sample, said that they applied for at least one course or program to further their education. Nearly all, 225 or 90.7%, were successful in obtaining a placement. Only 2.6% of the respondents made applications for courses without succeeding in obtaining a placement. Most persons made only one application. Of the successful candidates, only 31 made more than one (see Table 6.7). There was no clear indication that persistence was a factor in obtaining an educational placement.

The persons attending further training were asked how they learned about the longest course they took. A variety of resources were indicated in their responses. No resource dominated the picture, but it was clear that the respondents had tended to rely on the tried and true. The Canada Employment and Immigration Centres were responsible for helping 20%. About 15% went back to high school for help, and 17.8% heard about their program from the media. Most of the remaining respondents turned to family and friends. Only a few got information directly from the post-secondary institutions (see Table 5.8).

Problems in Educational Search

The respondents were given a list of six problems that people could encounter in looking for educational opportunities, and were asked if any applied to them. As Table 6.8 shows, most (62%) reported fewer than three problem areas. About 38% said they had problems in three or more areas, and 18.6% said that they had no problems at all in conducting an educational search. Persons who attended upgrading programs or who did further courses or programs reported an average of 1.75 problems with their educational search. Although the difference was small, this was significantly fewer than the 2.2 problems reported by the non-attenders (see Table 6.9).

Getting money to pay education expenses was the problem mentioned most frequently by nearly half of all the respondents. The next most frequently mentioned problem was in meeting entrance requirements for courses and programs, which was listed by 40.9% of the respondents listed this one.

Table 6.8
Number of problems encountered in educational search (N=1004)

Number of problems	Freq.	Percent
0	187	18.6
1	208	20.7
2	228	22.7
3	197	19.6
4	131	13.1
5	41	4.1
6	12	1.2

Note: mean=2.04801

Table 6.9
Number of educational search problems of early leavers in several upgrading and training categories

Educational involvement	Sample size	Average problems
None	637	2.2
Upgrade only	142	1.8
Upgrade and training	57	1.6
Training only	168	1.8

Approximately one third of the early leavers said they had problems locating courses close to home, finding time to go to school, and a need to work as being problems for them. Only a small number (14.3%) said that they had problems getting information about courses and programs (see Table 6.10).

Table 6.10
A comparison of problem areas reported by early leavers attending or not attending upgrading or training

Problem	Upgrading & Training Category									
	No upgrading (N=637)		Upgrading only (N=142)		Upgrading & Training (N=57)		Training only (N=168)		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Finding time	231	36.3	43	30.1	9	16.1	40	23.8	323	32.2
No local courses	239	37.5	40	28.4	21	36.8	62	36.9	362	36.1
Entrance requirements	286	45.0	51	35.9	14	24.6	58	34.9	409	40.9
Have to work	206	32.7	42	29.8	16	28.1	49	29.7	313	31.5
Getting information	99	15.5	19	13.5	5	8.8	20	12.0	143	14.3
Getting money	338	53.1	65	45.8	25	43.9	72	42.9	500	49.9

Note: Those surveyed could respond to each problem area.

Definite and significant differences were noted between the incidence of some of the problems, and attendance at upgrading and training programs. The most extreme differences were noted in the problem area of entrance requirements. Forty-five percent of those not participating in upgrading felt that entrance requirements were a problem, compared with about 35% for those participating. This problem was experienced least of all by those participating in both upgrading and further training and education.

Some problems on the list showed only small differences that were not generally significant. Having local courses available was equally a problem for all (about 37% in each case) except the upgrading group, who seemed to see this as less problematic. Getting information about courses was generally not seen as a problem by any of the groups. Although the need to work was reported to be a problem by many people, it did not distinguish those who studied from those who did not. Interestingly, although the need to work did not discriminate among the participators, having problems getting money for education did. Approximately, 53% of those not participating said this was a problem, contrasted to an average of 44% of those who participated. Those not attending also tended to say that they had more difficulty finding time for education than did those who were attending. This seemed to be more of a problem for those attending upgrading as well.

SOURCES OF HELP IN LOOKING FOR EMPLOYMENT/CONTINUING EDUCATION

As the interview progressed, the respondents were asked about the people or places they may have contacted when they were looking for jobs or considering continuing their education. The most common sources contacted by the early leavers were friends and relatives (80.2%) and parents (79.5%) (see Table 6.11). More importantly, these contacts were almost invariably described as helpful by the respondents. This is consistent with earlier findings of this study, which indicated a heavy reliance on personal contacts by the early leavers.

Table 6.11
Sources of help in finding employment or educational opportunities

Source of help	No contact (N=1012)		Contact (N=1012)		Helpful (In contact)	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent*
Friends/relatives	200	19.8	812	80.2	765	94.2
Parents	207	19.5	805	79.5	738	91.7
Canada employment centre	554	54.7	458	45.3	293	64.0
Community college	712	70.4	300	29.6	250	83.3
High school counsellor or teacher	767	75.8	245	24.2	212	86.5
Social services	790	78.1	222	21.9	151	68.0
Youth employment strategy	954	94.3	58	5.7	42	72.4
Career information hotline	960	94.9	52	5.1	27	51.9

Note: *calculated as a percentage of those who were in contact with the source of help.

Four hundred and fifty-eight (45.3%) of all the leavers said they contacted the Canada Employment Centre; about 64% of these reported this source as helpful. Another 29.6% said they had been in contact with a community college since leaving school and approximately 83% of these reported the contact as helpful. A school guidance counsellor or teacher was a source for 24.2%, while 22.9% reported contacting social services.

The sources least consulted were the Youth Employment Strategy Programs (5.7%) and the Career Information Hot Line service (5.1%). However, it should be noted that the Career Information Hot Line was not fully publicized until the fall of 1989. Therefore, the interviewees would only have had access to the hotline for a period of approximately six months before taking part in the survey. In addition, because the promotional literature was targeted to schools throughout the province, the early leavers may not have appreciated the availability of this source.

As in the past, the respondents indicated that they generally limited their contacts to a few sources, and about 7.7% did not indicate any contact at all. Another 59.3% listed at most three contacts, and approximately 33% were in touch with more than three. A small but significant group of 196 persons, 19.4% of all those interviewed, said that they consulted only their family and friends.

EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE NEWFOUNDLAND

A large number, 375 (37.1% of the total sample), said they had travelled outside the province to look for work since they left school. Of those who did leave the province, 89.3% reported being successful in obtaining some type of employment. About 82% of the respondents said they had friends or family in the area to help get them settled.

One hundred and twenty three respondents, 32.8% of those who had travelled at some time, were outside of the province at the time of the interview. Of the total number of respondents who had left the province, 238 or 63.5%, reported leaving just once to look for work. Another 21.3% said they left twice and 5.6% left three times; 5.8% reported leaving the province on more than three occasions to look for work (see Table 6.12).

The respondents were also asked where they went to look for work (see Table 6.13). The majority, 298 or 79.5%, reported travelling to Ontario. Another 7.5% said they went to Nova Scotia to look for work and 4.3% said they travelled to Alberta. A small percentage (1%) reported travelling to other provinces or outside Canada.

Table 6.12
Number of trips out of province taken by those looking for work
(N=375)

Number of times	Freq.	Percent
1	238	63.5
2	80	21.3
3	21	5.6
More than 3	18	4.8
Number not reported	17	4.5
No response	1	0.3

It is apparent that while there was a fairly high level of mobility, moves outside the province tended to be for relatively short periods of less than one year. Of the 375 early leavers who left Newfoundland to look for work, about 24% stayed for less than three months. Another 24.3% reported staying between three to six months, 108 persons, or 28.8%, stayed between six months and one year, and 11.7% were there between one and two years. Approximately, 9% reported staying more than two years (see Table 6.14).

SUMMARY OF JOB AND EDUCATIONAL SEARCH ACTIVITIES

The early leavers reported having to overcome several barriers in their search for work. The main problems had to do with their lack of experience, or with the economic situation. Fewer people said that their failure to complete high school constituted a problem in this regard. Not many people said that poor information and job search skills were a problem in their job searches. In general, the severity with which problems were perceived was associated with the level of employment in 1989. A number of people said that they didn't want a job. For the most part, they were engaged in other, useful activity that explained this

Table 6.13
Destinations reported by those leaving Newfoundland to look for work (N=375)

Place	Freq.	Percent
Ontario	298	79.5
Nova Scotia	28	7.5
Alberta	16	4.3
New Brunswick	5	1.3
Manitoba	3	0.8
British Columbia	3	0.8
Saskatchewan	1	0.3
Northwest Territories/Yukon	1	0.3
Quebec	2	0.5
United States	1	0.3
South America & Central America	2	0.5
Europe	1	0.3
Other	4	1.1
Place not reported	10	2.7

preference. Childcare responsibilities were not listed by many as a major barrier in taking up employment.

At the beginning of 1990, before the real impact of the economic downturn began to be felt, the early school leavers in the sample nevertheless held a pessimistic view of their economic opportunities. Even though there were significant numbers rejecting high school, almost all felt that taking courses would be helpful to them in pursuing work opportunities.

About one-fifth of the sample had been involved in programs to upgrade their public school education since they had left their school. Some of these had

Table 6.14
Length of time spent away from Newfoundland by those looking for work (N=375)

Time	Freq.	Percent
0-3 months	90	24.0
3-6 months	91	24.3
6-12 months	108	28.8
12-24 months	44	11.7
More than 24 months	32	8.5
Time not reported	10	2.7

succeeded in gaining high school diplomas or equivalencies. Just over 20% of the sample, including a fair number of those upgrading, had participated in other training or educational experiences. They relied on a number of different resources in identifying these training opportunities, some going to the local CEIC, while others went back to the high school or community college, or even to parents and friends. Money was the most serious impediment to participation in education and training, however, almost every one who said that they tried to get a placement reported success.

Over one third of the sample said that they had been involved in some form of upgrading, education or training during the one and one-half years prior to the follow-up survey. The respondents received guidance in their search for educational opportunities from a number of sources, none of them predominant. They sought help from the local Canada Employment Centres and community colleges, or returned to the high school, and depended on parents and friends. In general, if they said that they had applied for admission to a program, they reported success. Very few who had been engaged in educational search failed to get a placement.

Getting money to pay for education was the problem most often described by the sample. A large number, about 40% also said they felt that they would have difficulty meeting entrance requirements. These were also the problems that were most likely to distinguish those attending school from those who did not.

In pursuing help about their work and education, parents, friends and relatives were approached most frequently, and seen by far, to be the most helpful resource available to the sample. As in the past, the respondents indicated that they generally limited their contacts to a few sources.

More than one-third of the respondents had travelled outside the Province, mostly to Ontario, to look for work, and the majority had been successful in the search. For the most part, those travelling, did so to a destination where they had friends and family, and the majority returned to Newfoundland after working for a short time, usually for reasons not directly associated with their work.

SECTION SEVEN

JOB HOLDING

The respondents were asked several questions pertaining to their ability to keep a job, as well as the types of things that caused them to leave a job. As can be seen in Table 7.1 about 30% of the early leavers who reported having a job, said they left a job because they didn't like it. Five hundred and thirty-two persons

Table 7.1
Job holding
(N=936)

	Freq.	Percent
Left job - didn't like it	276	29.5
Laid off	532	56.8
Fired	40	4.3
Left job - too difficult	41	4.4
Trouble with reading on job	52	5.6
Trouble with math on the job	74	7.9

(56.8%) said they had been laid off from a job since leaving school. Only 4.3% said they had been fired from a job. Another 4.4% reported leaving a job because it was too difficult. Additionally, 5.6% said they had trouble with reading while on a job and 7.9% reported having a problem with math. Two hundred and fifty-three or 25% said that at sometime they had been promoted or had received a better job while working for the same employer.

The 375 respondents who were employed outside Newfoundland had very different reasons for leaving their employment and returning home. The most common reason for returning, given by 22.9% of the early leavers was that they were lonely for home (see Table 7.2). About 18% reported that it was too expensive to live where they were located. Only 14.9% said the reason for returning was job related. Forty-one persons (10.9%) reported family reasons as the cause for returning home. Over 35% declined to give reasons at all.

Table 7.2
Reasons for returning home
(N=375)

Response	Freq.	Percent
Lonely for home	86	22.9
Cost too much to live there	67	17.9
Job related	56	14.9
Family reasons	41	10.9
Came back to go to school	31	8.3
Came back to work	28	7.5
Illness	11	7.5
No reason given	134	35.7

Note: More than one response was possible to this question.

SECTION EIGHT

SELF-ESTIMATES OF PROGRESS AND SATISFACTIONS OF THE EARLY LEAVERS

SELF-ESTIMATES OF PROGRESS SINCE SCHOOL LEAVING

After obtaining information about the current activities, educational and work experiences of the early leavers, the interview focused on their impressions about how their life was going. The general feeling expressed was one of overall satisfaction. There were no significant gender differences in these feelings. Since leaving school, 40.5% of the early leavers felt that things had worked out about the way they expected. Another 30.8% reported that things worked out better than they expected. Less than one-third, 27.7%, said that they were not doing as well as expected.

The self-assessments of progress were related significantly to the total number of weeks worked in 1989. Those saying that they were doing better than expected worked an average of 6.7 months that year, compared to the average of

5.6 months worked by those who said that they were doing as well as they expected. Those who were not doing as well as expected worked an average of 3.9 months (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1
Average months worked in 1989 contrasted by self assessment of progress since school leaving
(N=1002)

Self assessment of progress	Freq.	Percent	Average months worked	Average income ($)
Better than expected	312	31.1	6.7	11,642
About as expected	410	41.0	5.6	10,692
Not as well as expected	280	28.0	3.9	6,771

The early leavers who were doing better than expected also had a significantly higher total income in 1989 than the other two categories. They had estimated their average total income that year to have been $11,642. Those not doing as well as expected reported a total income of $6771. The people who were doing as expected reported $10692 as their income, just a little less than those who felt that they were doing better than average.

There were also small but significant differences in educational participation that were related to self-estimates of progress. The group that was doing as well as they expected reported the lowest level of overall involvement in education and training. The group doing better than expected tended to be involved in higher levels of further training programs. The highest level of involvement was reported by the people who also said that they weren't doing as well as expected. They tended to be involved more in both upgrading and training activities (see Table 8.2).

Table 8.2
The relationship of self-estimates of progress since school leaving to participation in upgrading and training
(N=1002)

Educational participation	Self estimates of progress							
	Better than expected		As expected		Not as expected		Row total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
No participation	192	61.5	283	69.0	162	57.9	637	63.6
Upgrading only	38	12.2	55	13.4	48	17.1	141	14.1
Training & upgrading	16	5.1	24	5.9	17	11.7	57	5.7
Training only	66	21.2	48	11.7	53	18.9	167	16.7
Column total	312	31.1	410	40.9	280	27.9	1002	100.0

Note: Percentages are expressed in terms of each level of progress (columns).

$x^2_6 = 17.30$, $p < .05$

SATISFACTION OF EARLY LEAVERS

Despite the report of most that they were doing at least as well as they thought they would do, a significant number expressed some degree of dissatisfaction with certain aspects of their lives. As Table 8.3 indicates, almost all of the early leavers were satisfied with friends and neighbours (95.4%) and with their living arrangements (83.8%). However, their level of satisfaction decreased significantly concerning some of the economic considerations. Only 39.5% said they were satisfied with the job opportunities open to them; 44.3% reported being satisfied with the job skills they had in order to earn a living; and only 49.8 percent were satisfied with the amount of money they had made since leaving school. Very interestingly, the males who were dissatisfied with their earnings reported earning more in 1989 ($8679 on average) than did the females ($8168) who said they were satisfied.

Table 8.3
Reported satisfaction since leaving school
(N=1012)

Subject	Freq.	Percent
Amount of money you made	504	49.8
Amount of time spent in a job	557	55.0
Job opportunities open to you	400	39.5
Job skills you have	448	44.3
Living arrangements	848	83.8
Friends and neighbours	965	95.4

Level of satisfaction with the longest job

The majority of early leavers were satisfied with their longest held job. Approximately, 20% of the early leavers said they were very satisfied with the job while an additional 57.2% reported being satisfied. However, 13.4% reported being dissatisfied with the job while 2.9% said they were very dissatisfied.

The level of satisfaction with these specific areas of their lives was examined in relationship to the self-estimates that the early leavers had made about their progress since leaving high school. Satisfaction with the specific areas was significantly associated with the self estimates of progress, even in the cases, such as satisfaction with living arrangements, where the overall level of satisfaction was high. In general, the better the progress made since leaving school, the more satisfied were the respondents in all areas.

One area of satisfaction that stands out at this stage of the analysis was satisfaction with job related skills. Less than half of the respondents (44.6%) were satisfied with their job skills. However, almost 60% of those who felt their progress had been better than expected were satisfied with their skills, compared to only about 26% of those who felt that they weren't doing as well as they expected. The contrast in level of satisfaction was even greater when satisfaction with the amount of money being earned, and the amount of time worked was considered.

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS AND SATISFACTIONS

There was an overall feeling of satisfaction among the respondents about their progress since leaving school. Fewer than one-third felt that it had not gone as well as they had expected. These people tended not to have had as high a level of labour market success as the more satisfied individuals. Despite the general level of satisfaction many felt, a large number were nonetheless dissatisfied with their job related skills, with the economic outlook, and with the amount of money they were earning.

SECTION NINE

ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS, OUTLOOKS

MOBILITY

The group of early leavers originally involved in the study had already shown itself to be a highly mobile group of people. From their response to the question about where they expected to be in the next one to two years, it appeared that this mobility would continue, and even accelerate. In all, the trend was toward leaving the home community, and over the longer term, leaving the province. Only 57.4% of those presently in their home communities expected to be there in one to two years time. Although a fair number of those still at home planned to move elsewhere in Newfoundland, the majority anticipated a move outside the province. While some persons who were away from home at the time of the survey planned to move back, the numbers were small, meaning the home communities would suffer a net loss of young early school leavers. In general, those planning to move back to the province did not plan to return to their homes (see Table 9.1).

Table 9.1
Mobility expectations of the early leavers

Expected Location in 1-2 years	Location at survey time							
	At Home		Elsewhere in NFLD		Out of NFLD		Row total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Remain home	396	57.4	24	17.6	6	4.5	426	44.4
Move in NFLD	122	17.7	89	56.4	12	9.0	223	23.2
Move out of NFLD	172	24.9	23	16.9	116	86.6	311	32.4
Column total	690	71.9	136	14.2	134	14.0	960	100.0

Note: Percentages are expressed relative to the location at survey time (columns).

Persons who had recently participated in training and upgrading were tending to anticipate moving in the next one or two years. Of the 147 respondents in the mobile population, 40.9% had participated in education, compared to about 33.8% in the non-mobile group. The trend was about the same degree in all locations, whether the respondent was in or out of the province. However, it was notable that fewer persons out of the province had participated in education (see Table 9.2).

Table 9.2
Relationship of subject mobility to participation in education

Level of mobility	Participation in education					
	No participation		Participation		Row total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Mobile	212	59.1	147	40.9	359	37.4
Not mobile	398	66.2	203	33.8	601	62.6
Column total	610	63.5	350	36.5	960	100.0

Note: Percentages are expressed relative to level of mobility (rows).

An expectation that one would move in the next one to two years did not seem to be related to the total time employed in 1989. While those persons anticipating a move, as well as those living either at home or out of the province, did work a somewhat shorter length of time than did those planning to stay where they were, the difference was only about two weeks, and was not considered significant. Similarly, although it showed trends in the expected directions for persons living at home, income was not significantly associated with mobility expectations. Interestingly, the 17 persons living outside the province and expecting to return to Newfoundland reported incomes averaging $3000 higher than the persons who expected to stay out of the province.

OUTLOOK FOR WORK AND EDUCATION

Overall the respondents painted a bleak picture of their labour market situation. About 42% of the respondents did not have as much work in the last year as they expected; 44.9% thought that they would be working fewer than 9 to 12 months in the next year. Only 38.8% felt that the job market would improve in the coming year. Over 80% thought the government should ensure that there was work for them in their home communities (see Table 9.3).

The early leavers seemed to recognize the importance of completing high school in order to get a job. Although 59.5% agreed that you do need to graduate from high school in order to get a job, it was quite interesting that 38.7% seemed to believe that high school was not essential to their economic success. The persons who felt that high school was not necessary had worked slightly longer the previous year than those who disagreed. In addition, their incomes averaged about $2600 more in 1989 than the people who said that high school was necessary. This tended to hold for both genders, although the differential was somewhat higher for the men than the women.

Despite the belief of many that high school was not necessary, 75.9% of the respondents reported that they expected to be doing some training or upgrading in the next couple of years. Another 77.8% said that they would continue with their education if they were paid while doing it.

DEPENDENCE ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Almost 53% of the respondents had received Unemployment Insurance during the past year. Furthermore, 57.8% expected to depend upon it in the coming year or two for at least a portion of their income. This expectation was related to the income in 1989. In general, those expecting to depend on UI in the coming year

Table 9.3
Expectations and outlooks, January 1990
(N=1012)

	Percent			
	No response	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
I have had as much work in the last year as I expected	0.6	57.7	41.5	0.2
I will probably work form 9 to 12 months next year	1.0	53.1	44.9	1.1
I expect to have to draw UI within the next year or two	0.9	57.8	40.5	0.8
I think there will be more jobs in the next year or two	1.2	38.8	58.8	1.2
I expect to do some upgrading or training in the next year or two	1.3	75.9	21.0	1.8
I expect to work at about minimum wage in the next one or two years	1.2	32.4	66.1	0.3
I do not need to graduate from high school in order to get a job that will support me	1.1	38.7	59.5	0.7
I would continue with my education if I were paid to do it	0.8	77.8	20.8	0.7
I believe the government should make sure there are jobs for me to do in my community	1.8	80.8	20.8	1.1

or so had a total income that was about $1400 less than those not expecting to draw it. Even though they earned much less than the men, the income differential of the women was much larger, about $2300. It is notable, again despite their lower incomes, that relatively fewer women anticipated UI dependence than did the men (see Table 9.4).

Table 9.4
Income in 1989 and expectation of unemployment insurance dependence

Gender	UI Dependent		UI Independent	
	Freq.	Income(s) ($)	Freq.	Income(s) ($)
Male	325	11119	212	12563
Female	157	5633	132	7943
Total	482	9332	344	10790

OCCUPATIONAL SELF CONCEPT AND ASPIRATIONS

A crucial consideration in understanding the transitional pattern of youth and in predicting its next phase, is the view that they have of themselves as workers, and the type of work to which they might aspire in the near future. In order to get some insight into this question, the interviewees were asked to name three jobs that they thought they could do well, and would like doing, and were then asked to choose the one that they would like best. The answers helped to understand the occupational horizons of the respondents (given their particular experience in the past few years), their expectations of opportunity, and their perceptions of their abilities.

Not everyone responded to the questions completely. Only 70.3% named three jobs. The remainder named fewer than three. Forty seven persons, 4.6% of the total, did not name any jobs at all that they could do well and that they would like doing (see Table 9.5).

Table 9.5
Number of occupations named by respondents that they could do well and would like doing
(N=1012)

Number of occupations named	Freq.	Percent
0	47	4.6
1	86	8.5
2	168	16.6
3	711	70.3

The general educational development (GED) and specific vocational preparation (SVP) required for these jobs were examined. The general educational development is an estimate of the general level of reasoning, reading and numeric skills typically required on the job. In this study, the average of the three occupations that the respondents thought they could both do well and would like to do was taken as an estimate of their self concept of occupational ability. The median average GED was 3.15, which corresponds to a GED classification which the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations (CCDO) describes as the application of common sense understanding to instructions in written, oral and diagrammatic form, and basic arithmetic involving fractions, decimals and percentages. Also language abilities should be developed to the level allowing filing, posting and mailing records and forms, copying data and filling in forms (see Table 9.6).

Table 9.6
Average general educational level (GED) of three chosen occupations (N=1012)

Average GED	Freq.	Percent
No response/not computed	49	4.8
1	15	1.5
2	165	16.3
3	4231	41.8
4	335	33.1
5	23	2.3
Not classified	2	0.2

Note: Mean=3.1; Standard Deviation=1.01

Almost all of the respondents (97.5%) named occupations with GED classifications no higher than four, such as bookkeeping, construction or farm management. Many of these occupations, however, would require fairly sophisticated numeric and language skills. The CCDO describes some of these as the practical application of standard algebraic and geometric skills, and the interpretation of technical manuals.

The CCDO describes the specific vocational preparation (SVP) required for an occupation as being the time needed to learn the specific skills required by the occupation. It can be a combination of a variety of training formats, including formal institutional settings, apprenticeships, in-house training, on-the-job training, and other work experience. The typical respondent in the follow-up survey named three occupations where the average SVP level was not quite five, corresponding to a training time of from six months to one year. A fair number of the respondents, 14.7%, aspired to occupations requiring two to four years of SVP. An even greater number, however, listed jobs that required less than three months training as jobs they could do well and would like doing (see Table 9.7)

Table 9.7
Average specific vocational preparation required for three preferred occupations
(N=1012)

Levels	Freq.	Percent
No response/not computed	49	4.8
1	3	0.3
2	61	6.0
3	121	12.0
4	191	18.9
5	218	21.5
6	219	21.6
7	147	14.5
8	3	0.3

Note: Mean=4.7; Standard deviation=1.77475

SUMMARY OF ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS, AND OUTLOOKS

If anything, the group of early school leavers in this study expected to be more mobile in the future than they had already shown themselves to be in the recent past. There was an overall intent to leave their home communities, and the Province, and there would appear to be a small tendency for those who train and upgrade to be among those planning to leave. Curiously, the intent to move from the Province did not seem associated with recent labour market success, or lack of success.

Almost half of the respondents thought that they would be less than fully employed in the coming year (1990), and over half anticipated some dependence on unemployment insurance. They did not have very high aspirations for the jobs that they thought they would like to do in the future, either. For the most part, they aspired to work that would require six months or less of specific vocational training.

SECTION TEN

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

During the preceding presentation, the reader will have noticed that many of the issues presented are interrelated. In this section, some of the related issues will be brought together with a discussion of their implications for the development of programs to assist the early leaver in transition.

SATISFACTIONS AND PROGRESS SINCE SCHOOL LEAVING

On the whole, the early leavers expressed a fair level of satisfaction with their lives at the time of the survey in early 1990. In particular, they were happy with the living arrangements that they had, and their relationships, rooted for the most part in the home community. Their area of greatest dissatisfaction, their economic situation, can be interpreted as being seen by them to be something over which they had little control. It must be remembered that the youth involved in the study were expressing general satisfaction at a time when the economic situation was relatively rosy for them.

The general level of progress since school leaving was closely related to the total income and total amount of work in 1989 that was reported. Those reporting better than expected progress also reported having worked for longer periods and having brought home more money. Aside from the obvious relationship between total income and total time worked, there is also the question about which was the important source of satisfaction: the work, or the money. There was also a relationship between self-estimates of progress and education that was complex and required more investigation.

Satisfaction and work

There is some evidence that the level of satisfaction was only indirectly associated with the total amount of work. Although the early leavers wished that they had more work, they expressed general satisfaction with their longest held job, even though it was of overall short duration. The statistics on self-assessment of progress tend to validate the idea that there was an expectation of less than full employment at the time of school leaving when the early leavers first entered the workforce. Even those doing better than they expected since school leaving were still unemployed on average almost one-half of 1989. Persons living and working on the mainland were much more successful at obtaining longer term employment.

While the main reason for leaving a job was being laid off, a large minority said they left work because they didn't like the job. It is crucial to learn more about this phenomenon, especially the factors in both the person and the work that lead to dissatisfaction. Certainly, the availability of unemployment insurance, and a satisfying family and community situation support a decision to give up a job. At a time when unemployment is a significant problem, job readiness programs can be designed to help workers better deal with less than satisfactory working conditions to remain at work, and help employers find ways to ameliorate those conditions. A decision to leave a job, like the decision to leave school, can seen to be a positive move when viewed from the perspective of the employee who is dissatisfied with working conditions.

There is other evidence that satisfaction with progress was not related to the amount of work. By and large, those returning home from away did not do so for work related reasons. They were seeking satisfactions related to the social environment of their home province. Curiously, they were more optimistic about the prospects of long term employment in Newfoundland than were those who they had left behind when they first went away. This was so despite the fact that, at survey time, the economic news from Newfoundland was beginning to be pessimistic.

Despite the general level satisfaction with the longest-held job, it was notable that a number of those surveyed were doing work that they did not prefer. For example, only 3% preferred fishing, and almost no one would have chosen fish processing as the job they could do well and would like to do. In contrast, nearly 6.7% of the sample had worked as fisherpersons, and 9.7% worked in fish processing.

Satisfaction and income

Satisfaction with general progress since leaving school was definitely associated with the level of income that was reported, as higher total incomes were reported by those doing as well or better than expected. Objectively, if reports of income were accurate, and bearing in mind the gender differences in reported income, many of those who felt that they were making expected or better progress were in fact not enjoying adequate incomes according to Canadian standards. While this may have been the case, actual income has to be placed in context before judging its impact on satisfaction.

According to Ross and Shillington (1989), while there is no official measure of poverty in Canada, there are a number of defined income cut-offs or income lines which are used as a measures of poverty. Two are commonly used: the Statistics Canada low-income cut-offs; and the Canadian Council on Social Development Income Lines. The measure used by Statistics Canada is probably the best known. Statistics Canada itself does not measure poverty; instead it establishes a set of income cut-offs below which people are said to live in "straightened circumstances". Nonetheless, most treat the cut-offs as poverty lines. The Statistics Canada poverty line is calculated by estimating the percentage of average income devoted to essentials, namely food, clothing and shelter; this is marked up by 20 percentage points. Table 10.1 shows low income cut-offs for 1989. One set is derived from the 1986 based cut-offs adjusted to 1989 and the other (in parenthesis) from its 1978 based cut-offs adjusted to 1987. These numbers were updated according to an 8.5% cost of living increase. The Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) approach is based on the average family

Table 10.1
Statistics Canada low-income cut-offs, 1989

	Size of area of residence				
Size of household	500,000+	100,000-499,999	30,000-99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural areas
1 person	13,414	11,788	11,511	10,493	9,135
	(12,063)	(11,457)	(10,748)	(9,936)	(8,921)
2 persons	18,192	15,968	15,602	14,228	12,382
	(15,916)	15,106)	(14,094)	(13,076)	(11,659)
3 persons	23,122	20,297	19,837	18,084	15,737
	(21,291)	(20,176)	(18,856)	(17,540)	(15,612)
4 persons	26,619	23,386	22,842	20,823	18,121
	(24,534)	(23,317)	(21,797)	(20,275)	(18,048)
5 persons	29,069	25,554	24,941	22,745	19,790
	(28,589)	(27,070)	(25,200)	(23,530)	(20,987)
6 persons	31,568	27,732	27,081	24,699	21,491
	(31,225)	(29,501)	(27,576)	(25,648)	(22,912)
7 or more	33,956	29,809	29,137	26,560	23,124
	(34,368)	(32,543)	(30,415)	(28,285)	(25,244)

income reported by Statistics Canada. It takes one-half of the average income to be the poverty line for the average Canadian family of three members. A 50% value is assigned to a family of three; a family of two 83%. Those with more than three family members receive an increment of 16.7% for each additional member. Table 10.2 shows estimates of 1989 income lines based on 1987 figures with an added inflation rate of 8.5% (1989).

Table 10.2
Lines of income equality developed by the Canadian Council on Social Development, 1989

Household size	Income level
1 person	$11,828
2 persons	19,712
3 persons	23,655
4 persons	27,597
5 persons	31,540
6 persons	35,483
7 persons	35,426

Source: The Canadian Council on Social Development, Canadian Fact Book on Poverty, Ross & Shillington, 1989.

An examination of the guidelines suggests that, although the two guidelines do not agree exactly, in Newfoundland, a single person household in 1989 would have required an income in excess of about $10,000 to exceed the cutoff. The median income of the 822 persons providing data was only $8100 ($7900 for single persons), and over 60% of them reported incomes under $10000 The financial position of the typical early leaver in the survey would not be good according to these standards, and in fact, many did report some dissatisfaction with the level of their income.

This has to be placed in the context of the living situation of the individual, however. Large numbers of those surveyed were living with their parents, or with other persons, and some of those said that they received free room and board as an additional income source. If one examines the income guidelines to determine the additional cost of operating a three person household at the cutoffs, it can be seen that a person could continue to live with both parents at a cost of $3500 to $4000. Viewed in this perspective, a median income of $8100 could provide a good standard of living for a young person with no other responsibilities than contributing to the family economy.

Our data is ambiguous on the income status of persons who were married or who had responsibility for others. While higher incomes were reported, they were not significantly higher relative to the cutoffs for two and three person households. In fact, it is evident that if the reported income was the total household income, these persons were in very straitened financial circumstances. Much more information about this group is required to more fully understand how they make ends meet.

Almost 53% of the sample had depended upon unemployment insurance to provide a portion of their income during 1989, and about 58% said that they expected to have to draw unemployment insurance over the next two years. Considered in the context of the total income reported, UI can be seen to be a very important factor in the economy of the early leavers.

Despite the higher salaries to be earned on the mainland, many still chose to come home from away, and some of these said that economics was the reason. According to the poverty lines, the cost of living in the more urbanized areas is higher, meaning that the higher salaries there still leave people poor, with the added disadvantage of lower quality lifestyles relative to that our sample experienced in Newfoundland.

While we did not ask directly if people had been paid to take a course or to undertake training, many did say that this was a reason for taking their longest course. These people did not note a significantly more positive employment outcome of their training than did those who did not receive pay for attending school. This suggests that income support could be important in motivating people to return to school, but that in doing this, programmers need to be clear about the objectives of the training. If improved employment levels are the desired outcomes, other factors such as the availability of local jobs could moderate the effects of the training programs.

Those industrious people who combined several full and part-time jobs were successful in getting as much total employment in 1989 as persons working full-time only. However, this didn't lead to as high an income as that earned by persons working full-time only. This was perhaps because part-time jobs tend to pay closer to minimum wage than do full-time jobs. This is increasingly the lot of unskilled workers who are finding that more and more of the jobs for which they qualify are set up as part-time work. Often part-time and full-time jobs are very similar, but the part-time work pays less, and carries fewer benefits. It was perhaps the case that persons putting together a combination of full and part-time work did so in order to meet the qualifying standards for unemployment insurance.

Satisfaction and education

Self estimates of progress since school leaving were related as expected to the level of income and total work in 1989, but they showed an unusual relationship to participation in education and training. Those saying that they were doing as well as expected participated the least in education of all types. They had generally been rewarded with better incomes than many, and longer periods of work despite their nonparticipation. Obviously, the best targets for training and upgrading presently are those doing least well economically. A more difficult target are those who are more comfortable with their progress, even though their progress, by most standards, is still inadequate.

The interpretation of the relationship of self-report of progress, and educational involvement is not straight forward. The least satisfied are overall most involved in educational endeavors of all types. Those doing better than they expected are involved more in training, but not upgrading. The reason for this difference is not clear at this stage of the analysis, but it could be that other characteristics of the satisfied and dissatisfied early leavers are important in determining educational participation than simple economic considerations.

Those who stated that they were progressing as they had expected were more satisfied with their job skills. This carries two interpretations. One is that the group reporting better than expected progress does have better job skills. In view of the generally low skill level of work that people were doing, the other, more likely interpretation is that they had been fortunate enough to land and keep jobs independently of the skill level that they actually possessed.

Interest was not necessarily the main reason for taking a course. Almost all persons also had an instrumental reason. Only a few cited only interest alone. Interest, therefore, may be only one, not too important reason, for taking a course or training of some sort. Programmes will have to appeal to other, more instrumental motives, to attract students.

PROBLEMS

Despite the relative prosperity of the times that had preceded the survey, the early leavers reported a number of problems associated with their efforts to access the labour and education markets. In many cases they disassociated themselves from the problems that they perceived. Their pessimism regarding their economic outlook was closely tied to their view of the local economy, and not their own level of preparedness to participate in a broader economy. "We are young and inexperienced, but if only the economy were better, we'd be OK", seems to be the implication. Even though they may be planning to leave the community to find work, the likelihood is that they do not do so willingly, considering the number who think the government should ensure that they can find work in their home communities. One senses a lack of awareness of the economic changes taking place around them, and the significance of these changes for the long-term economic outlook in their communities, not to say the significance of the changes for them, personally. This does not bode well in the short and mid-term for improvement in the completion rates in high school, and for improvement in post-secondary participation rates. More needs to be learned about this seeming lack of awareness of the economic realities, and its sources in the home, school and community.

Problems with work

Childcare In general, people responsible for the care of children perceived greater problems in accessing work and education than did those who were free of this chore. When asked directly, both men and women with children tended to discount the suggestion that children created problems for them, although there were the expected gender differences with the women feeling the burden somewhat more than the men.

The most significant area of difference between those with and those without children was differences in priorities for the use of their time, much more than in actual financial restraints. Both genders reported that having to work to support the family was a significant problem for them. The men with children reported that getting money for education was a much more significant problem for them than their unencumbered male peers. Interestingly, the women, both with and without children, had the same level of difficulty getting money for school, which was not as difficult for them as for the males with children.

Perception of the availability of work In general, there was pessimism about the availability of work even though Newfoundland had been enjoying a period of relative prosperity. Large numbers of those surveyed felt that there was very little work available for which they could qualify. A large number of persons in the survey were not engaged in job search at the time of the interviews, even though few of them said that they actually didn't want a job.

The perception that work was available was related to the length of time that was worked. The longer that one had worked, the more one was inclined to believe that work was available. In general, people who lived away from their home communities thought that less work was available at home than did the people living at home. The perception of those living away was probably the more accurate, as they tended to have located in the more prosperous areas of the country.

These observations raise questions about the impact that perceptions of the availability of work could exercise on job search behaviours. The data can be interpreted in two ways. Differences in these perceptions could be a function of relative success in the job market, that is the level of success of job search. The perceptions could also be a function of actual knowledge of the job market. In either case, the estimates made by individuals about the likelihood of the success of job search will probably be an important factor motivating search.

Job readiness programs The lack of work experience was seen by the early leavers to be a greater problem than the lack of education. The cost of job-hunting was viewed to be a considerably more serious problem than knowing how to look for work. Lack of information was low on the list of problems in contrast to the most serious problem, which was that there were not enough jobs, a matter quite beyond the control of the early leaver. One suspects that if the area of job search is restricted to the local community and surrounding areas, these perceptions may be quite accurate, indeed. In addition, the discussion in the previous section showed possible problems with perceptions of the availability of work, one area that more accurate information could help.

A number of the people surveyed had participated in job-readiness programs. The rationale for programmes such as this is that the "at risk" youth is deficient in job search and job holding skills. They may have poor attitudes about work. Lack of knowledge and skill in these areas was a problem perceived by a only a minority of the early leavers, and it was obvious that these were not the main problems that they perceived. If, contrary to these perceptions, it is true that "at risk" youth have problems in these areas, then programming about them will first have to change the perception that information, search and job-holding are not important problems. The youth involved will have to be shown their problems, and more importantly, how the solution of these problems will help them in attaining success in job search and job holding.

This is a matter of some importance, as the possible impact of these programmes can be viewed in two ways; first, in terms of the number of people who perceive their problems accurately; and second, in terms of the impact of more accurate perceptions on the success of job search and job holding. The problem is that the experience of the job search can colour the perception, for example, of the availability of jobs. Earlier, the suggestion was made that, perhaps, successful search leads to the perception that generally, more jobs are available. In a contrary fashion, unsuccessful search could lead to the perception of the non-availability of work. It is important that beliefs about the job market be accurate, uncoloured by a previous, and possibly avoidable negative experience with job search.

Problems with education and training

Reading and Math Reading and math were not associated by the early leavers with work, and it is possible that they were not even regarded as job skills by most of the group surveyed. This association could have been stronger for those who had enjoyed the least economic success, as those saying they had made poor progress were more likely to have been involved in upgrading programs. This, however, was a very small group, and on the whole, the early leavers believed that they possessed adequate reading and mathematics skills.

Almost no one reported difficulty with reading and math on the job. The reason for the perception is undoubtably that the low skill jobs that they held probably didn't require very high levels of reading and math skills, if they were required at all. Paradoxically, technology is making it possible to reduce even further the requirements for math and reading for low skill level jobs . The low level of required reading and math skills is significant in that early leavers holding jobs like this, and that includes the majority of the sample, are reinforced in their belief that their reading skills are adequate, making it more difficult to motivate them to seek upgrading, or to access the available literacy programs.

Entrance requirements At the time of school leaving, many of those surveyed had anticipated returning to school, and while many had done this, not as many had returned for both upgrading and skill training as had anticipated doing so.

Many of the early leavers noted that they perceived problems in meeting the entrance requirements of the programs in which they were interested. The data are not specific as to the nature of the entrance requirements and the programs that are involved, so the information is difficult to interpret, but obviously, these problems were not anticipated at school leaving time. The group where this was least problematic was with the upgrading group, but even they showed some concern.

It is important to note here that about 40% of the sample did not feel high school is necessary to employment, but 90% felt that taking courses would be. The relevance of high school, even as an indirect influence on employment was still not perceived by many, two or more years out of school, even with the evidence that it is sometimes difficult to access the education and training that they think will be actually useful to them without the necessary prerequisite education.

Those of the sample who had participated in both upgrading and education reported the fewest problems meeting entrance requirements. This could simply be because they had been successful in negotiating entrance into further training. On the other hand, it could suggest that the problem of the need to deal with entrance requirements was recognized and met by them in their programs of upgrading. It could also be that they had easier upgrading paths that they were required to do than did the others. This is a matter that needs further study.

Two different programming directions can be addressed here. Certainly it is evident that a major difficulty exists in motivating people to participate in the upgrading programs that are available. Intensive programming to meet this objective may be an important factor in impacting on the upgrading efforts of those with incomplete secondary education. The evidence of this study is that this type of programming is required to encourage people to enrol in basic literacy as well as high school equivalency programs.

The other programming direction could be in the direction of revising entrance requirements of programs where possible so that the necessary skill levels for program success become the prerequisites, eliminating the more arbitrary requirements. Mature student admission at the university seems to be a success, and other programs in other venues might consider a re-examination of their entrance requirements.

Program availability The availability of a course in the local area was not generally seen as problematic, although this was less the case for those in training courses as opposed to upgrading courses. As upgrading courses at a variety of levels are offered on virtually all community college campuses, and in other venues as well, this is not surprising.

The complaint that access to training and further education is more difficult to access than is upgrading is somewhat more difficult to assess. The recent tendency has been to decentralize training programming, as well as other kinds of programs in order to respond to this complaint. The administrative and financial problems that are inherent in bringing a broadly differentiated set of offerings to the local level in Newfoundland are obvious, and will not be commented upon here. A more serious problem exists in the possibility that local programming will be based on currently identified needs in the area, rather than on a more future oriented outlook. The needs expressed by a community with a strong identity, and a strong drive to maintain itself are likely to be expressed in these terms. A further concern is that programming that is genuinely future oriented will have little appeal for members of a community who have needs that must be immediately met.

In some respects, it can be argued that requiring people to move some, distance from their community to take a course (if only a small move) would be desirable. It would help to prepare them attitudinally for jobs that exist outside the community, in that they would be better able to make a longer term break from their home communities. This may be the only solution for them in the short term in any case, pending the creation of new types of work in their locales.

Work and money Getting money to go to school is listed as one the main problems standing in the way of getting more education and training. The related difficulty, having to work, is also a problem for many people. A straightforward provision of free training may not be the best solution. As noted elsewhere, some people return to school when they are paid to do so, but this doesn't mean that they would if only the expenses of education were picked up.

Getting money to upgrade was seen to be a problem by many of those taking upgrading courses. It was not insurmountable, however, because of those who upgraded, the 45% or so who viewed it as a problem were able to upgrade anyway. Despite the difficulties, they apparently managed financially. Having to work did not discriminate those who took part in education from those that did not, but having trouble getting money did discriminate. The data are clear in suggesting that many who perceive money problems are able to overcome them to get further education and training. This is an area that requires further study and analysis so that the financial problems and priorities of early leavers at this stage can be better understood.

THE ROLE OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

The dependence on personal contact

The early leavers surveyed in the Transition Study were likely to rely on personal contact in their local area for information on employment. In the follow-up survey, 63% of the respondents reported that they heard about their longest held job through family or community contacts. They also reported that family, friends, and the counsellor at their old school were more helpful to them than were other agents available to assist them in their job and educational search. Friends were viewed as a particularly important source of information about training programs. Another aspect of this is noted among those who left the province to work. Nearly always these people had a personal contact at their destination "to help them get settled". Overall, there was a clear indication that aside from personal contacts with friends or family, a significant number of early leavers did not have contact with any other helping agent.

In getting the longest job, the importance of the social network was evident. Some of the sample said that their interviewing skills were of some importance, while some others credited their success to blind luck. In the *Early School*

Leavers Initial Survey (Spain & Sharpe, 1990) the respondents were asked about the sources of information that they would access when looking for a job. Forty-six percent of the early leavers gave only one source where they would go to ask. In the follow-up, if anything, those interviewed were even more restricted in the number of sources that they would consult. Only 6% of the respondents said that they communicated with an employer through a telephone call or letter. The reluctance to write, and the lack of ability to compile a resume could very well be due in part to the lower level of literacy that it is assumed that the sample possessed.

These observations are important because of the recent effort to put assistance of various types in place to help people in their search activities. While it is fairly evident from the data that the level of knowledge and search skills possessed by the early leavers for accessing jobs and educational opportunities is limited, they do get jobs and educational opportunities through a reliance on their social network. The social network, which often includes employers, is productive. Through it, most of those surveyed were able to find enough work and educational opportunity that they pronounced themselves to be satisfied overall with their progress since leaving school. The overall effect is likely to have been a reinforcement of the search patterns that are in place.

The preference among early leavers to work in or near their home community is probably a function of the social network. In addition to the normal unwillingness to separate from meaningful relationships, it may be assumed that reliance on the network for job and educational search means that it will be unlikely that search will be extended beyond the boundaries of the network. This will impose arbitrary physical limits on search, and the vision of the search will tend to be limited to what is known and comfortable. Because the early leavers rely on personal factors in conducting search, they will come to feel that they will be less successful outside of their home community since they will not have the same personal contacts. The possibilities for personal growth are reduced, as is the likelihood of long-term employment.

Expanding the view of search

It is interesting that more than two years after the decision to leave school, largely because of lack of interest and the perception that school was irrelevant, the school still remains a point of contact for a number of the early leavers. Those seeking help for locating work and educational opportunities found their old school counsellors and teachers very helpful, more helpful in fact than the local Canada Employment Centres, and almost as helpful as parents and friends. A number of possible explanations can be offered, but the fact that the counsellors and teachers are known to the early leavers, perhaps even as members of the same community, and therefore are able to personalize the contacts, is a suggestion that must be made. Furthermore, it is possible that school counsellors offer a service that can be more comprehensive and integrated than services found elsewhere. Less constrained by restrictions on the scope of their work with people, school counsellors may know more, and be better placed to help people develop direction and purpose.

From the numbers of people who actually sought help from their schools, it is evident that this is a not insignificant portion of the workload of school personnel, notwithstanding their need to work primarily with those still in attendance. An obvious programming possibility is the extension of the roles of school counsellors to also provide assistance to youth in transition. Providing the resources to local schools to set up linkages between adults, and the post-secondary educational system would also follow from this. These linkages could be expanded to networking with the local CEC.

The strong dependence on family and community ties that was in evidence also needs to be addressed in programming. Earlier discussion has noted that this dependency would tend to limit the outlook of the early leavers in cases where family and community horizons were limited. Programs that helped families and communities broaden their outlooks, and assisted families in using their influence to help in educational and employment decision-making, could have a significant impact.

At the time of the survey, the career information hot line was targeted to mainly school populations. To the extent that this is still true, its outreach should be expanded. Furthermore, given the apparent need for personalized contact, the hot line should help callers to identify and establish relationships with helpers in addition to its role of providing information.

MOTIVATION AND ASPIRATIONS

The motivation and aspirations of people underlay all the other considerations of programming that have been made in this report. Generally, those who actually engaged in educational search were successful in getting placed. Most people were successful in getting enough employment that they felt happy with their overall situations out of school. Those attending training or education reported fewer problems in conducting their search than did those who were non-attenders. The inference may be made that the problems were perceived before search, not during search. This may be related to the nature of support received during search, but it may also be a function of the initial aspirations and motivation of the people seeking the training.

The conventional wisdom is that the more educated young Newfoundlanders are being forced to leave the province to find work suitable to their level of training and education. The evidence of this study is that the effect may be occurring even among early leavers who are upgrading their skills and training levels. This is bad news for the planners of the Economic Recovery Commission, who hope to put a trained workforce in place in the rural areas of the province, but it helps to focus the motivational issues.

Although early leavers who upgrade seem to be inclined to leave the province, mobility itself did not seem to be related significantly to labour market success in this group. Those that upgraded were more successful whether they stayed or went. There were differences in the successes of those who were mobile and those who stayed in their home communities, however, when the training effort was not considered. This seems to suggest that persons who gain engage in a training effort are also more highly motivated to find work. It is open to speculation however, that the education itself, might have contributed to the higher motivation. It could be that a higher level of motivation led to participation in education in the first instance, as in this group mobility did not seem related to success in the labour force. This does indicate, however, that it is the gain in skills that leads to the expectation to leave the province, and not a higher level of motivation to succeed. It suggests as well, that the mobile group would have been just as satisfied to stay in the province, given an outlet for the use of their newly acquired skills.

Since many people plan to leave the province in any case, and many of those who return do so for reasons unrelated to work, work readiness programs need to include elements that will help to prepare people for life away from home, and out of the province. Programming of this sort may be inconsistent with the planning of the Economic Recovery Commission, but it is consistent with the objective of assisting youth to become economically self-sufficient when the local economic environment is hostile to the attainment of this goal. In the longer term, there may be no negative impact on the ability of a local work force to support economic recovery. At this stage in their transition, these young workers seem inclined to prefer work in Newfoundland, and it might be expected that those who do leave the province to work will return given appropriate opportunity. When they come back, it will be with very valuable experience, work habits and attitudes that they might not be able to acquire at this time in the province. The real challenge is to develop training programs with good, transferable skill outcomes, and then to motivate people to pursue them.

At the time of the survey, there were already a number of young homemakers among the group interviewed. This group is bound to grow quickly larger into a group of women, responsible for the care of their children, but lacking special skills for entry into the workforce of the future. The evidence of this study, which must be considered to be preliminary, is that for those of the group actually engaged in education and training, money and family responsibilities, while they were problematic, were problems that could be overcome. Not enough is presently known about the group and whether or not it had other special characteristics, but one possibility is that the homemakers who upgraded had special levels of motivation and aspiration that distinguished them from people who did not upgrade. This group represents a special category of risk in the society, and programming that encourages and supports a continuous involvement in upgrading and training could reduce that risk considerably.

From the preceding analysis it seems clear that programming that will help people to expand their aspirations, and that will motivate them to initiate search, could be a useful, and perhaps very productive addition to other kinds of programming that is now in place. It is also clear that a change in aspiration and general level of motivation should be reinforced by successful search experiences. To be truly beneficial, with long term impact, the work and educational experiences acquired in the process should be genuine, and not contrived or created.

PROGRAMMING SUMMARY

The programming need that began to emerge at this stage of the analysis was for programming that has a focus on the development of aspiration and motivation to upgrade and train. General agreement exists that the option of choice for early school leavers is to get them back into the classroom, but this analysis produced some evidence that the decision to leave school in the first place was being reinforced by subsequent experience in the work force and with income support systems. The aspirations of the youth in the study, high at first at school leaving time, are already beginning to drop to the level of their actual experience, suggesting that there will be less upgrading and training in the future, not more.

Changing and upgrading the aspirations of this group will not be easy. Different approaches will be required to motivate possible trainees, depending on their level of economic success, as many are satisfied with a level of success that is poor by conventional standards. The problem of motivating attendance in upgrading, both in basic literacy, as well as high school equivalency, needs to focus on the linkage and relevancy of these programs to other, more instrumental outcomes for individuals, and not on the development of interest in the study or in a potential career path. Programs that attempt this will have to deliver real success in the marketplace with respect to these outcomes, which would include access to post-secondary training, improved income and longer-term and more secure employment opportunity.

Young homemakers have shown an ability to overcome obstacles to attain upgrading and training. These efforts should be encouraged as this group gets larger in the future, and should be supported by programs designed to ease the impact of the problems created by their family responsibilities.

Job readiness programs need to establish firmly the importance of accurate job market knowledge and knowledge of special skills that will assist in accessing the job market as the evidence at this time is that the youth at risk do not value these skills. Job readiness programs teaching job search skills should function in the real job market, and ensure that attempts at job search are reinforced with success in terms of positive employment outcomes. There should be a focus on encouraging an independence of the social network for assistance during search.

At risk youth also need to learn to deal positively with less than satisfying and less than interesting jobs. The present option being exercised by many is to leave these jobs even when there are no work alternatives. To complement this, initiatives should be taken with employers to find ways to ameliorate the least satisfying aspects of these jobs.

Entrance requirements for training should be directly linked to those skills needed for success in the training program. Community colleges should define the educational requirements of their local communities in terms of broader perspectives than the needs perceived locally. They should use educational experience as an opportunity to help people become independent of their communities. Presently, dependency on the local economy constrains the freedom of choice of youth.

The role of the secondary school should be expanded to assist youth comprehensively during the transition period. This will capitalize on the relationships, many of them positive, that youth have established and value in the local school systems.

It is also suggested that : (a) family-oriented programs need to be developed that focus on helping families to realize their potential to influence sons and daughters and change the nature and level of their aspirations; (b) the career information hot line should be used to help link youth with long-term and comprehensive counselling assistance; and (c) programming needs to be developed that will prepare youth to leave the home community in search of education and work and to develop satisfying lifestyles in the new locations.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Occupational classification of longest held employment of early school leavers between July 1988 and December 1989 (N=936)

CCDO four digit	Occupational title	Freq.	Percent
0000	No response	2	0.2
0101	Make work project	12	1.3
1000	Unspecified occupations	5	0.5
1111	Legislative member	1	0.1
1149	Publisher	1	0.1
2114	Meteorologist	1	0.1
2161	Surveyor	1	0.1
2165	Engineering technologist	2	0.2
2331	Probation officer	3	0.3
2333	Social welfare, childcare worker	2	0.2
2391	Counsellor	1	0.1
2700	Teacher's aide	6	0.6
2731	Pre-school teacher	5	0.5
2795	Teacher, disabled	1	0.1
3139	Medical aide	9	1.0
3319	Artist	2	0.2

Occupational classification of longest held employment of early school leavers between July 1998 and December 1989 (N=936)

(con't)

CCDO four digit	Occupational title	Freq.	Percent
3333	Dancer	1	0.1
3337	Disk jockey, radio announcer	1	0.1
3351	Writer, journalist	1	0.1
4111	Stenographer, secretary	3	0.3
4133	Cashier, typist, ticket seller	28	3.0
4135	Security clerk (bank teller)	1	0.1
4143	Computer operator	2	0.2
4153	Shipping & receiving clerk	18	1.9
4155	Supply technician, Inventory clerk	13	1.4
4161	File clerk, library assistant	3	0.3
4171	Office worker, receptionist	11	1.2
4177	Deliver person, courier, messenger	8	0.9
4190	Office, general supervisor	1	0.1
4194	Hotel clerk	2	0.2
4435	Bank teller	2	0.2
4713	Mail clerk	1	0.1

Occupational classification of longest held employment of early school leavers between July 1998 and December 1989 (N=936)

(con't)

CCDO four digit	Occupational title	Freq.	Percent
5130	Manager store, manager trainee	14	1.5
5133	Sales rep.	5	0.5
5135	Salesman, floor covering	2	0.2
5137	Supermarket, salesclerk, floorhand	53	5.7
5141	Door to door salesmen	1	0.1
5145	Gas bar attendant	23	2.5
5199	Venting machine routeman, fashion model, telephone solicitor, rental shop attendant	1	0.1
6115	Security guard, night watchmen, correctional officer	11	1.2
6117	Officers, soldiers, armed forces	3	0.3
6121	Cook, chef, fast food preparer	13	1.4
6123	Bartender	6	0.6
6125	Waiter/waitress, busboy/girl	27	2.9
6133	Maid	1	0.1
6142	Housekeeper, servant	8	0.8

Occupational classification of longest held employment of early school leavers between July 1998 and December 1989 (N=936)

(con't)

CCDO four digit	Occupational title	Freq.	Percent
6143	Beauty culturist	5	0.5
6147	Babysitter	67	7.2
6169	Carpet cleaner, rug cleaner	1	0.1
6191	Janitor, cleaning lady	11	1.2
6198	Dishwasher, hospital porter, kitchen helper	9	0.9
6199	Underwater welder, scuba diving	1	0.1
7111	Farmer general	1	0.1
7115	Flower grower	1	0.1
7195	Cemetery worker, landscape worker, grounds keeper	4	0.4
7198	Farmhand, fruit picker	7	0.7
7313	Fisherman	63	6.7
7511	Forestry	4	0.4
7513	Wood cutting, logger	10	1.1
7719	Miner	1	0.1
8213	Baker, Decorator	7	0.7
8215	Meatcutter	4	0.4
8217	Fish cleaner and cutter	91	9.7
8239	Lumberyard worker	2	0.2
8259	Pulp and paper	1	0.1

Occupational classification of longest held employment of early school leavers between July 1998 and December 1989 (N=936)

(con't)

CCDO four digit	Occupational title	Freq.	Percent
8313	Machinist	5	0.5
8319	Machine operator	1	0.1
8333	Metals worker, tech.	3	0.3
8335	Welder	9	1.2
8533	Repairman	7	0.7
8535	Communications tech.	1	0.1
8553	Seamstress	5	0.5
8581	Repairman, autobody, motor vehicle	15	1.6
8584	Mechanic, aircraft, millwright	2	0.2
8589	Lock smith, fuel injection tech.	2	0.2
8592	Boat builder, dry dock worker	2	0.2
8598	Factory, shipyard worker	55	5.9
8599	Assembler	4	0.4
8711	heavy equipment operator	3	0.3
8718	Flagman/woman	2	0.2
8731	Line repairer	2	0.2
8781	Carpenter	21	2.2
8782	Bricklayer	2	0.2

Occupational classification of longest held employment of early school leavers between July 1998 and December 1989 (N=936)

(con't)

CCDO four digit	Occupational title	Freq.	Percent
8785	Painter	3	0.3
8787	Roofer	4	0.4
8791	Plumber	2	0.2
8793	Steel worker	2	0.2
8798	Labourer	14	1.5
8799	Construction helper, chain line fence worker	21	2.2
9155	Seaman	2	0.2
9159	Bus driver	1	0.1
91[illegible]	Taxi driver	2	0.2
9175	Truck driver	13	1.4
9179	Dispatcher	1	0.1
9313	Mover, snow removal, stevedore	6	0.6
9315	Fork lifter operator	18	1.9
9318	Material handler	20	2.1
9517	Cutting machine operator,collating machine operator	1	0.1
9918	Labour, pipe cleaner, odd jobs, mechanics helper	71	7.6
	Unclassified	6	0.6

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